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28 MARCH 1989



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# ***JPRS Report—***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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JPRS-NEA-89-024

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## REGIONAL

### Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt To Establish Transport Company

**Arab Bridge Company Agreement Signed**  
**44040184 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic**  
**14 Dec 88 p 7**

[Article by Tariq Khuri]

[Text] Cairo—PETRA—Engineer Khalid al-Hajj Hasan, the Jordanian minister of transport and communications, Muhammad al-Zubaydi, the Iraqi minister of transport and communications, and Engineer Sulayman Mutawalli, the Egyptian minister of transport yesterday morning in Cairo signed the minutes of the meetings of the third session of the general board of the Arab Bridge Shipping Company, which concluded yesterday.

In an interview with the Jordanian News Agency in Cairo, Eng al-Hajj Hasan stated that the minutes include several amendments to the agreement to establish the company. The amendments confirm the establishment of a joint-stock limited company called the Arab Bridge Company for Land and Marine Transport, the determination of its main center in Jordan, and the right of the company to open branches and offices in the countries which are party to the agreement, which are Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt, and outside these countries.

Hasan added that the objectives of the company were amended in order for it to undertake for its benefit and the benefit of others, all shipping and marine and land transport operations, including the transport of passengers and goods, purchasing, selling, renting, and investing. The company possesses all types of existing naval components, ships, boats and maritime transport means and their requirements.

Eng al-Hajj Hasan added that the company is therefore entitled to undertake all operations pertaining to its goals, including: concluding all agreements and contracts aimed at developing the company's different operations; acting as an agent for maritime shipping, transport, salvage, and land transport companies; and paying duty on merchandise in general.

He stated that the company is permitted to have an interest in, or enter into any partnership with, organizations which pursue operations similar to its operations, or which can assist it in achieving its objective in the founding countries or abroad. It is also permitted to buy the aforementioned organizations or subjoin them to it by agreement of the company's general board.

The minister added that the decisions made by the company's general board include the registration of ships and land vehicles owned by the company at ports and motor vehicle registration bureaus in the countries which are party to the agreement, with deference being

given to distributing registrations as much as possible to the countries that are party to the agreement in proportion to each country's share in the capital of the company. He indicated that the countries involved in the agreement are not permitted to nationalize or confiscate the property or assets of the company, sequester or seize it, or defer payment of debts.

They are also not permitted to seize the ships or vehicles, floating equipment, or transport means owned by it or its funds, or take measures whose implementation is compulsory, except in compliance with a court order.

The minister added that the general board has expressed satisfaction with the financial center of the company, which achieved a surplus estimated at \$1,920,000 through to the end of last October.

He stated that the general board agreed on a budget planning program for the company for 1989, which includes the realization of total revenues of \$69,761,000, total expenditures of \$58,479,000, and a surplus estimated at almost \$11,281,000.

He stated that the general board has been informed of the results of a study which concluded that an increase in the price of passenger fares is not feasible in the current phase due to the existing circumstances of competition.

In addition, Eng Khalid al-Hajj Hasan, the minister of transport and communications delivered some remarks at the conclusion of the session after the signing of the minutes, in which he expressed thanks to the Iraqi and Egyptian transport ministers for their efforts in making the meetings and the results achieved in them a success.

He stated that the decisions made by the general board tend to develop, strengthen and expand the work of the company, and are a practical expression of joint Arab cooperation under the leadership and direction of His Highness, King Husayn, His Excellency, President Mubarak and His Excellency, President Saddam Husayn.

Eng Sulayman Mutawalli, the Egyptian minister of transport, also delivered several remarks, in which he stated that the mandatory powers of the company among the three countries have been expanded, and that the company has been granted all facilities to serve commercial exchange movement and the movement of passengers with the provision of comfortable transportation for them.

Muhammad al-Zubaydi, Iraq's transport minister delivered several remarks, in which he praised the positivism which prevailed in the meetings and the decisions which were made.

He stated that our leaders have continuously affirmed the pursuit of joint cooperation in all fields, and that we are bearing a historical responsibility in this phase.

Jordanian participants in the meeting included the secretary-general of the transport ministry, the director of the Jordanian Maritime Lines Company, the director of the Arab Bridge Company, and the director-general of the transport ministry.

**Amendments to Agreement Made**  
**44040184 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic**  
**15 Dec 88 p 7**

[Text] Amman—PETRA—The first meetings of the general board of the Arab Bridge Company for Maritime and Land Transport were concluded in Cairo yesterday.

Eng Khalid al-Hajj Hasan, the Minister of Transport and Communications and the chairmen of the Jordanian delegation at these meetings said in a statement to the Jordanian News Agency upon his return to Amman yesterday that the transport ministers in the three sister countries, Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq, approved recommended amendments to the founding agreement of the company, which enable the company to undertake land transport operations involving passengers or goods, especially those goods stipulated in the reciprocal deals ratified by the three countries. The initial activity of the company in this area will be the transport of a million tons of Iraqi cement to the Arab Republic of Egypt. The company will also be able to engage in land transport operations on a rental or holding basis by virtue of the new amendments.

Hasan emphasized the successes which have been achieved by the company since its founding, stating that the company realized a \$1,920,000 financial surplus through to last September, and that its surplus is expected to total \$2,500,000 by the end of the current year, inasmuch as the company has transported 60,000 passengers, 40,000 tons of goods and 35,000 vehicles of different tonnages. He indicated that the general board approved the planning budget of the company for the next fiscal year, which strives to realize total revenues of \$69,761,000 and total expenditures of \$58,479,000. This means that an estimated surplus of \$11,281,000 is expected.

He stated that the three countries agreed not to raise passenger ticket prices in the current phase because the company aims to strengthen joint economic cooperation between the three countries, and solidify brotherhood links between them, especially links between the Arab East and the Arab West and the development of relations between these two regions in the area of shipping and maritime and land transport.

The minister expressed satisfaction over the results achieved in the meetings of the general board of the company, and stated that this company and other Arab projects represent joint Arab efforts that translate the directives of His Highness, King Husayn, His Excellency, President Husni Mubarak and His Excellency, President Saddam Husayn. He added that these joint

Arab efforts receive the continuous support and supervision of the leaders of the three countries. He emphasized the importance of establishing these types of joint projects in order to achieve Arab economic integration.

The Jordanian delegation included the secretary-general of the Ministry of Transport and Communications, the director of maritime transport in the ministry, and the general director of the National Shipping Lines Company.

The Minister of Transport and Communications stated that he and Dr 'Atif Sidqi, the Egyptian prime minister, held a meeting the night before last, in which they studied Jordanian-Egyptian relations and cooperation, especially in the area of transport and communications. They also reviewed the decisions of the Joint Jordanian-Egyptian Supreme Council, and the degree to which these decisions have been implemented.

He added that an agreement has been reached on holding a meeting in Cairo during the second half of next month between the Egyptian and Jordanian ministers of transport and communications, with the participation of the Egyptian Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation in order to study the decisions of the Supreme Council that pertain to air transport.

He indicated that a review of aspects of joint cooperation between Egypt, Jordan, and Iraq also occurred in the meeting, especially with regard to the Arab Bridge Company for Shipping, the results of the company's operations during last year, and the success which it achieved in providing services. Also reviewed were the decisions made yesterday by the company's general organization regarding expansion of the company's scope of activity to include land transport operations in addition to maritime transport operations in order to broaden its services and guarantee bi-lateral and tri-lateral commercial deals concluded between the three countries as well as the company's future plans, especially the plan for 1989.

In addition, he stated that bi-lateral meetings were held with Muhammad al-Zubaydi, the Iraqi minister of transport, who participated in the meetings of the company to study Jordanian-Iraqi cooperation in the area of transport and communications, and evaluate the results of bi-lateral relations in this area prior to the meetings of the Joint Jordanian-Iraqi Supreme Council, which will convene in Baghdad soon.

**Unified Standards, Tariffs for GCC Plastic Products Studied**

**44040223 Doha AL-'ARAB in Arabic 14 Dec 88 p 3**

[Text] QNA - Upon the completion yesterday of the proceedings of the coordinating meeting of Gulf household and industrial plastic products and plastic bags manufacturers, the importance of expediting the issuance of unified Gulf standards was emphasized. The

purpose of the unification is to maintain the excellence of product quality, protect the producer and the consumer, and to facilitate and encourage trade between Gulf countries. Emphasis was also placed on the need to seek the assistance of government laboratories authorized to determine the compliance of products with standards.

As a result of the meeting, pertinent agencies in the ministries of industry were advised to be certain that market analysis, and a comparison of the volume of demand with existing production capabilities, be undertaken in all GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] countries—and not only in the country in which a new project is to be established—when requests are submitted to them for permits to establish new production capabilities.

The Gulf Industrial Consultation Organization was also advised to prepare a study on opportunities for investment in the plastic molds industry and in new plastic industries. It was also advised to prepare a study on the development of the existing [plastic molds] industry.

The meeting resulted in a request that a study be undertaken regarding the establishment of a research and development center for the plastic products industry. The center would function to improve product quality and monitor new developments in the industry.

It was also recommended in the meeting that the SABIC and QABKO companies pursue a pricing policy of selling raw materials to Gulf factories at the lowest export prices. These two companies were also advised to unify their product pricing policy in the Gulf Arab countries, and to give priority to fulfilling the requests of Gulf countries for primary materials, compared to external demand.

#### **Book Analyzes Arab Nuclear, CBW Capabilities, Use**

45040228 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24, 31 Jan 89

[Review of Amin Huwaydi's Book; "CBW: Arab 'Superconventional Deterrent'"]

[24 Jan 89, p 6]

[Excerpts] We have been observing these days the clamor over the chemical weapons. Both the United States and the Soviet Union demand that these weapons be deactivated and destroyed. We have also been observing the Arab and Egyptian reactions in this regard because it seems that the Arab and Islamic countries are the main target of this campaign now that widespread rumors say that some of these countries possess biological weapons and that the means to deliver these weapons to Israel's heartland have become available. This campaign reached its apex at the Paris conference. What is surprising is that while insisting on chemical disarmament, this campaign insists at the same time on keeping Israel

armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons! The United States is trying to stress that the issue is serious and can withstand no indifference by preparing to strike Libya on the pretext that Libya possesses a plant that may be used to produce chemical weapons!

So that we may understand the dimensions of what is being hatched against us, 'Adil Husayn noted in the preceding edition that Amin Huwaydi, a "strategic thinker," has been the first to publish a complete viewpoint on the chemical weapons' role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. By his reference, AL-SHA'B chief editor meant specifically Amin Huwaydi's book: "The Arab-Israeli Conflict Between the Conventional and Nuclear Deterrent." Huwaydi has pointed out that the Arab countries may not be able to acquire in the medium term an atomic bomb with which to deter the Israeli atomic bomb, meaning a bomb that would deter Israel from using its bomb for fear of retaliation in kind to its aggression. In this regard, Huwaydi offers a magnificent analysis of the system of deterrence with conventional weapons. He also offers [the concept] of what he calls the superconventional deterrent, i.e. CBW, while one prepares for attaining a nuclear deterrent capability at some time.

AL-SHA'B is happy to present Amin Huwaydi's views in this connection.

CBW is what we mean by the "superconventional deterrent." It gives the Arabs immediate "deterrents" which, if added to the conventional deterrent, enable them to possess a credible deterrent during the period of Israel's monopoly of the nuclear deterrent. Our possession of the "superconventional deterrent" is a temporary objective with which we fill the gap emanating from our lack of possession of a nuclear deterrent. This means that our acquisition of this deterrent should not lead us to relax our efforts to acquire the nuclear deterrent. As we have repeatedly stressed, it is impossible for us to acquire this deterrent without the protection of the "conventional deterrent" and "superconventional deterrent." The superconventional deterrents, like the "nuclear weapons," fall within the family of "total destruction weapons." However, there are numerous differences between the two types and it behooves us to note these differences so that the picture may become totally clear to us. [passage omitted]

#### **What Motivated Us To Include Superconventional Deterrent in Deterrence Ladder?**

A diversity of the means of deterrence gives the "deterrent" greater flexibility in managing the conflict and, consequently, makes an aggression less likely. In other words, this diversity increases the chances of successful deterrence. Even though we concluded in the preceding chapter that it is possible to deter the nuclear weapon by using the conventional weapon on the basis of "doubt" as to the dimensions of the punishment, adding the superconventional deterrent to the deterrence ladder

intensifies the "doubt" concerning the dimensions of the expected punishment [retaliation], not just as a result of fear of the dimensions of the expected destruction but also as a result of shaking the aggressor's confidence in his ability to deal with numerous "deterrences" with a varying destructive power. Therefore, calculations in such a case are more complex and less certain insofar as the expected consequences are concerned. If the aggressor reaches a state of doubt regarding the outcome he wishes to achieve by his aggression compared to the destruction he will suffer, then this doubt is sure to deter him from launching his aggression.

There is another motive that requires us to move in this direction, namely Israel's advanced research in CBW. This progress is demonstrated in the articles published by Israel's scientists in the various scientific magazines. This is in addition to Israel's possession of the nuclear deterrent which it will use under special circumstances.

The conventional deterrent is less expensive to manufacture and easier to produce. Its production requires lesser efforts and easier means than those needed for producing nuclear weapons. [passage omitted]

It is so easy to produce these weapons that specialists in the occupied territories can produce them. Moreover, thousands of vials filled with microbes can, with special arrangements, be smuggled into the occupied territories and deposited in selected safe spots close to water sources, rivers, wells, food stores and factories. After this is done, the fact would be announced clearly through the various media, with the provision that these weapons would not be used unless Israel takes steps to prevent us from developing our capabilities to acquire the "nuclear deterrent." The purpose of the announcement would be to prevent our use of this horrible weapon and, simultaneously, to stop the enemy from using the fearful weapon he possesses. We do not wish to commit this kind of crime. All we want is to prevent the enemy from committing this kind of crime, which he will not hesitate to commit some day. The equation that motivates us to intensify the use of CBW, including incineration weapons, in managing the deterrence operations is confined to the following three points:

- The conventional arms race is creating instability in the area as a result of incentives which encourage the warring parties and make them hope to achieve victory through the mutual use of the armed forces.
- Introduction of the nuclear deterrent into the "conflict game" does not achieve the desired stability. Rather, it encourages the aggressive tendencies of Israel, the country which monopolizes this deterrent. Simultaneously, it encourages the Arabs to make every effort possible to break this monopoly.
- Introduction of the superconventional deterrent creates a state of balance which imposes the desired stability by reducing the intensity of the aggressive tendencies and by channelling the conflict toward a rational direction through which the mutual interests of the warring parties are achieved.

#### Applied Use of Superconventional Deterrent

There are three main rules for this deterrent's use:

- A large quantity of chemical and biological weapons must be accumulated in order that their impact may be effective because a limited quantity will lead to inverse results through immunization of the targets.
- The deterrent must be used to strike territories, exactly as nuclear weapons are used. However, the superconventional deterrent is better than nuclear weapons because it permits the attacking forces to take advantage of their success a short period after the deterrent is unleashed, especially in the case of chemical weapons.
- It must be used against both targets with counter-power and counter-value. An example of the first type of targets are reserves, to prevent them from entering the battle, population centers or the various sources of assistance. Examples of the second type of targets include war plants or plants that serve war production, ports, airports, factories in general, and sources of agricultural products or animal food with the aim of paralyzing their activity through the mass killing of their inhabitants.

In the light of these principles, the use of this deterrent should be at two levels:

- A. Tactical use for a limited impact on certain sectors so as to prevent escalation to the use of the deterrent's top rung all at once.
- B. Strategic use through an all out offensive, if development of the situation dictates such use.

For example, if the objective is to kill large numbers of the population, typhus, cholera or smallpox microbes can be used in case a biological deterrent is employed. Nerve, suffocation and burning gases, incineration bombs or napalm bombs can be used if the chemical deterrent is employed. But if the objective is to impact a limited number of people, then other types of microbes or chemical means can be used.

In this case, the conflict will enter the same vicious circle as in the case of the nuclear deterrent. Can the superconventional deterrent be truly controlled and used only tactically? Or is it that when this deterrent is unleashed, it will be used strategically? Should we kill a greater or a smaller number of individuals? Should we destroy or should we kill? Will the deterrent replace combat? Will the mutual destruction force the warring parties to coexist? The questions go on endlessly in this vicious circle.

This is not all evil. Rather, it is goodness itself because life under the canopy of mutual fear is much better than life under the canopy of fear from one source.

There is no doubt that this statement of ours shocks many people, including myself! International laws prohibit the use of microbes and chemical weapons. This means that our call makes "us outlaws insofar as these laws are concerned." But we view the issue from a different angle which is totally compatible with the laws of the international system under which we live and with the principles of conflict that are operational at the regional level, especially in the Middle East.

#### Nature of Conflict Dictates Use of Superconventional Deterrent

Many objections may be voiced against the use of this type of deterrents, especially since they are, as we have already noted, banned by international laws on the grounds that they are mass-killing weapons.

But this ban has not stopped the superpowers from filling their stores with these means so that they may be used when the need arises. What is more, we find that military books abound with instructions on how to use these banned weapons and how to guard against them, not to mention that in military exercises, training is given on the use of these weapons at various phases of the battle. [passage omitted]

What I want to say is that the superconventional deterrence means were actually used in the past and are being actually used at present. They are being stored by the superpowers for the possibility of use in the future. So what is the objection to having this weapon available to us within the framework of our deterrence capability?

If some voice objection on the basis that international law bans these weapons, then nuclear weapons are also banned by the law and by treaties signed, even ratified, by most members of the international community. But despite this, everybody talks of strategic and tactical nuclear war as if it were an inevitable fact which has to be faced someday. What is more, the nuclear club members have been able to store 3 tons of explosives for every inhabitant of the earth. By examining history, some thinkers have come to the conclusion that every weapon which entered the production phase has actually been used. This is what happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945. What happened in the past can happen at present and in the future. Strategic planners are combining nuclear weapons with conventional weapons in defending Europe, for example. This proliferation of the mass-killing weapons invalidates the rules of the "international law" and opens the door wide for the law of "punishment."

Consequently, there is no place for criticizing the use of CBW's as a deterrent which prevents use of the nuclear weapon against us because this criticism is the "epitome of international hypocrisy." What is the difference between killing people with nuclear weapons and with the radiation, shock force and thermal impact emanating from these weapons and killing them with microbes,

poison or burning gases, incinerating bombs or napalm bombs? Comparing mass-killing weapons is like comparing execution by a firing squad, execution by hanging or execution by the electric chair. They all lead to death.

Israel is the initiator and the party that owns and uses the means of "mass killing." To fight and survive these means, it has become a must for us to acquire the "mass-killing" weapons. In the middle of the "jungle" in which we live, we have to select highly-efficient weapons that kill greater numbers more rapidly. This is compatible with the facts under which the conflict is taking place. Medallions and decorations are given to those who kill more people in battle or to those who survive the conflict by killing others. This being the case, some who seek to attain victory, who commit aggression, who annex territories by force and who control the destiny of other people through a military establishment that knows nothing but force and that [threatens to] "use the nuclear weapon" may not at the same time criticize "self-defense," the deterrence of aggression and survival through the use of the superconventional deterrent.

Both weapons are equally "unethical" and barbaric. But Israel's use of the nuclear weapon in this case is use for aggression whereas the Arabs' use of the superconventional weapon is a just use, especially since we seek this weapon as a "deterrent" and hope that it will never be unleashed.

Evil can only be confronted with evil. At times, what stops the use of evil means is the fear that greater evil will happen. As Andre (Bouver) says in his book "Deterrence and Strategy," every side tries to make its interests prevail, using all the means at its disposal to achieve this end. Even if some of the means are violent, this is no cause to renounce them or to consider them base means, keeping in mind that the other side will not hesitate to use them if they were available to it.

This is the fact in whose light one deals in the sphere of conflict, even if international hypocrisy has reached its epitome by speaking, for example, of a clean atomic bomb, i.e. a bomb whose radiation effects are lesser than those of others, or about a neutron bomb which kills people but allows building to remain standing and undamaged! All have agreed on the production and distribution of this bomb. So, there is no place for objecting on ethical or humanitarian grounds to the use of the superconventional deterrent as a counterdeterrent to the nuclear deterrent because involving these principles in tackling the circumstances of the ongoing conflict leads to applying the international law, as other laws are applied, to the poor or the weak while this law stands powerless in the face of the strong. Equality before the law is a major lie where both individuals and countries are concerned because strength always supersedes right and because fait accompli is the basis of legitimacy and justice.

**Summary:** In our endeavors to confront the critical period in managing the conflict by "deterrence," i.e. the period of "Israel's monopolization" of the nuclear deterrent, we concluded that the decisive means in this regard are confined to two kinds of "deterrents": The conventional deterrent and the superconventional deterrent.

We repeatedly stressed that this means of confrontation must be temporary, meaning that there should be no laxity in our efforts to acquire "our nuclear deterrent." This can be achieved only under the protection of a conventional and superconventional umbrella.

Introduction of the superconventional deterrent to the deterrence ladder restores balance between the warring forces, may achieve the "just" stability we strive for, may reduce the intensity of the aggressive tendencies and may inject the regional conflict with a desired dose of rationalism that could lead to achieving the mutual interests of the warring parties.

There is no place for arguing against introduction of the superconventional deterrent into the conflict ladder on ethical or humanitarian grounds. Often, violent means and measures are a cure for imminent dangers and a way for containing greater evils.

We seek to diversify our means of deterrence so as to provide greater security in managing the conflict and, consequently, to reduce the possibilities of aggression by intensifying the "doubt" as to the dimensions of the "punishment." If the aggressor reaches the point where he doubts how much of the desired results he will achieve through his aggression in comparison with the destruction he will suffer, then this conclusion alone is enough to deter aggression.

What remains for us is to offer some viewpoints of what the situation will be in case we reach the condition of nuclear equality with Israel.

[31 Jan, p 6]

[Text] In his book "The Arab-Israeli Conflict Between Conventional Deterrent and Nuclear Deterrent," Amin Huwaydi has been the first to publish a complete viewpoint on the role of chemical weapons in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Listing the motives that have pushed us to introduce the superconventional deterrent into the deterrence ladder—motives which we published in the preceding edition—Huwaydi stresses that a diversity of the deterrence means gives the "deterrent" greater flexibility in managing the conflict and, consequently, makes aggression less likely. In other words, this diversity increases the chances of successful deterrence.

Huwaydi has also said that the superconventional deterrent is less costly to manufacture and easier to produce. He has noted that this deterrent is used at two levels: The

first is tactical and is intended for a limited impact on certain sectors in order to prevent escalation to the top rung of the deterrence ladder all at once. The second level is the strategic use of the deterrent in an all-out offensive, should the situation develop to require such use.

Huwaydi has also asserted that the superconventional deterrence means were actually used in the past and are being actually used at present. The superpowers are storing these means for possible use in the future. Huwaydi has wondered: What is the objection to having this weapon available to us within the framework of our deterrence means?

Today, AL-SHA'B continues its review of Amin Huwaydi's viewpoints in this area.

The nuclear tendency of any third world country has its many burdens and its numerous reactions.

This tendency drains many investments that could be channelled toward improving the living standard, it generates pressures which may reach the level of sanctions imposed by the superpowers and it further motivates neighbors to turn to the nuclear option, thus leading to horrible consequences for all.

But despite all these perils, a country's, even a third world country's, nuclear tendency has its numerous motives. Ezekiel (Drewer) believes that these motives are: Improving a country's security, especially if it is seriously threatened by a strong enemy, the inability of a country's conventional defenses to confront dangers posing a threat to its survival or circumstances under which the nuclear option, despite its perils, becomes better than the other alternatives, such as in the case of a country facing superior enemies, an ostracized country facing enemies supported by a major power and feeling abandoned by the world or a country facing nuclear enemies. A country may also use the nuclear tendency for blackmail, such as when it threatens to turn to this option in order to acquire conventional weapons from the supporting major powers or to force an enemy to reach agreement.

Enumerating these motives, Ezekiel goes on to say: "Moreover, a strong temptation may develop in some countries to employ the temporary nuclear advantage to achieve political objectives. In such a case, a certain country tries to prevent the target countries from acquiring nuclear weapons if it believes that it can lead a certain region or that it can spread a certain ideology or religion."

It is evident that Ezekiel writes with "Israel" at the back of his mind. We fully agree with what he says, considering that what we view as a justification for Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons becomes the very justification for the Arabs to acquire this weapon. These same justifications require the Arabs as a group or any Arab

country separately to acquire this "deterrent" because we cannot allow our explosive area to live under the shadow of a "nuclear monopoly" enjoyed by a state which believes in aggression and in the use of force.

The fundamental principles that govern this race:

1. The Arabs will achieve no result in this race, unless under the protection of the "conventional deterrent" and the "superconventional" deterrent. Lest we forget, since the Israeli raid on the (Ozarik) on 6 June 1981, the statements made by Prime Minister Begin and the Israeli officials have been explicit and have said openly that the Israelis will launch preemptive strikes against any endeavor in the nuclear direction by any country in the area. The latest such statement was made by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to a Los Angeles newspaper on 29 October 1981. In this statement, he enumerates 4 situations which should be confronted with nuclear weapons. These statements send clear and frank messages which we must believe. But at the same time, we must not face them with fear. It is better to face them with serious action and with a true will. If striking the (Ozarik) has set the Iraqi program several years back and if it will result in replacing concentrated uranium by (Karamel), as many expect it will do, then this should be considered a motive for the Arab countries to join the nuclear club.

2. It is proven scientifically that a country with limited power can deter a more powerful country. This theory can be applied in the period of Israel's "nuclear monopoly" by employing the conventional and superconventional deterrent or in case we acquire the nuclear deterrent which, initially, will be of lesser size and quality than the Israeli nuclear deterrent. This tendency is supported by a study conducted on China's ability to deter the Soviet Union, considering that a Chinese strike against the 10 biggest Soviet cities will destroy 25 percent of the Soviet Union's industrial capacity and 25 percent of its population. In 1974, Geoffrey Kemp concluded on the basis of this that China can deter the Soviet Union. The possibility of heavy destruction deep in the hostile country is enough deterrent. In 1979, Gustin Galen researched the same issue and estimated that China possesses 60-89 medium-range missiles, 60-80 long range missiles and 80 bombers. He estimated that because of their inaccuracy, most of these missiles will not hit their targets and that, moreover, the bombers may not be able to penetrate the Soviet defenses. Furthermore, the Soviet Union will be able to make its preemptive strikes against China. Despite all this, Galen stressed that China can deter the Soviet Union on the grounds that the Soviets will view the issue differently. Despite their inaccuracy, the missiles will hit some of their targets. This realization is enough to create a deterrent. [Words dropped] the military objectives which the Soviet Union will achieve through its preemptive strike and whether they are equal to the destruction of Vladivostok, (Novospirsk), Tomsk or Moscow?

The power of deterrence is in the doubt that the deterrent creates. The more strongly channelled it is toward the psychological area, the more fruitful is the deterrent. What is important is that the "deterrent" play the game forcefully, daringly and without hesitation.

3. We must think day and night of how to secure the ability for a second blow, whether in the sphere of collective Arab action or of each of the capable Arab countries separately. It is absolutely unimportant what effort and how much money this will cost us because effort and money are worthless under the shadow of the threat of aggression. We may not calculate this ability on the basis of the number or size of the nuclear heads. It is the same if the capability we possess is less than, equal to or twice the capability the enemy possesses. What is important is that the deterrent force be convincing. Even if we apply the theory of acquisition of "minimum deterrence," then according to General Maxwell Taylor, "it is not difficult to prevent the outbreak of an all-out nuclear war because the quantity of nuclear weapons possessed by each side is an unknown secret. As long as each possesses a weapon with an extremely fearful destructive force, then the other side will not think of committing aggression."

We must note in this regard the question of winning the battle of the race between penetration and interception. What is important is that the "little" that is available be capable of penetrating the hostile interception forces to reach the enemy's heartland with a weight that makes the enemy feel the harshness of the punishment awaiting him.

It is obvious from the abovementioned duties that the matter requires a special type of individual to perform these duties. For example, only specialized scientists can direct the efforts to obtain the technical information. They are the ones who can determine the required needs in the form of specific questions. They are the ones who can assess the information and data obtained and they are the ones who can separate correct from incorrect data.

It is also obvious that the required positive activities, whether to obtain materials and instruments or to obstruct the hostile efforts in this area, require men of a special type.

The Arab intelligence agencies should, if they have not yet done so, set up sections to be entrusted with the nuclear activity issue. These sections must be given all the resources that enable them to perform their duties. Simultaneously, they must exchange all information with each other and with the friendly countries' information and intelligence agencies.

Communication between Arab scientists and the various research centers, regardless of their nationality, as well as their communication with the world uranium markets and with the nuclear equipment-exporting centers, helps the formulation of a nuclear program that leads to positive results.

### Essentials Required To Be Available to Nuclear Tendency

We have already noted that there are four essentials that are required to be available in order to achieve this end. They are:

- A. Installations needed to produce the fissionable core.
- B. The materials needed to produce the fissionable substance or the nuclear fuel.

Uranium is available in adequate quantity in the Arab homeland in the form of a raw material that can be produced from secondary sources abundantly available in the Arab arena, especially phosphate. The Arab tendency must emanate from the following starting points:

1. The immediate utilization of uranium from its currently confirmed sources.
2. The utilization of uranium as a by-product of phosphoric acid produced from Arab crude phosphate.
3. The launching of joint Arab efforts to prospect for crude [uranium] materials and utilizing these materials to serve the Arab countries' future need.

The degree of progress in achieving these starting points will depend on the following factors:

- The firmness of the Arab political will in supporting these tendencies.
- Dynamic action to exchange regional resources, capabilities and experiences in the short run.
- Comprehensive practical action to modify and resettle the prospecting and utilization technologies and action to develop these technologies in the short and long run.

In any case, the creation of a joint Arab nuclear fuel corporation that relies on the abundantly available Arab and Islamic capital and that engages in uranium prospecting and utilization activities throughout the Arab homeland is a proposal that merits study and implementation, considering that the Arab phosphate resources are, next to the Arab oil, the second gold card in the Arabs' hand. It is becoming evident that the Arab world possesses the greatest phosphate belt in the world—a belt that stretches from Iraq to Morocco. Phosphate is a strategic commodity that must be approached accordingly.

[C.] Scientific knowledge and technological capability.

[D.] The means and instruments of shelling [delivery].

These are the required essentials. It is obvious that some of them are available to the Arab countries in varying degrees. Naturally, this study does not tackle these

technical issues which are considered the duties of governments and scientists. What we are talking about are the general principles that can lead to successful action.

What remains for us is the fundamental issue we are tackling, namely: What will the situation be when the nuclear deterrent becomes available to us?

### Impact of Nuclear Exchange

Chart No 6 shows the population of a number of major Arab and Israeli cities. It demonstrates that the Arab cities' population exceeds that of the Israeli city. This is normal, considering the difference in the total population of each Arab country in comparison with Israel's population.

Some may imagine that this density in population of the Arab cities is not in the Arabs' interest if blows are exchanged by the two sides, using conventional weapons against countervalue targets.

But this belief is incompatible with reality. The ratio of the Arab population, in its entirety, to the Israeli population is 30:1 in favor of the Arab countries and 10:1 in favor of the Arab frontline states or nearby Arab countries (Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Syria).

This means that 30,000 killed on the Arab side are balanced by 100 killed on the Israeli side in the second case.

These figures demonstrate that if the Arab countries can reach Israel's heartland and strike its countervalue targets, then they need the least effort possible to create a deterrent impact, considering that what is required in this case is to inflict the limited number of losses we have pointed out. This fact alone makes Israel insist on the following:

- Always transfer the war outside its territories.
- Prevent the Arabs from threatening its heartland.
- Move from the phase of conventional deterrence to the phase of nuclear deterrence.
- Prevent the Arabs from acquiring a real conventional deterrent and stop them from acquiring a nuclear deterrent.

The fundamental factor that influences Israel's tendencies is the "human factor" because this factor is decisive for the [Jewish] national homeland's survival and is the motive behind the policy of the immigration and resettlement of the largest number of Jews in Israel and the policy of increasing the birth rate by enhancing the living standard and increasing the health services to reduce the mortality rate so as not to allow an imbalance to develop in the ratio of Jews to Arabs in the occupied territories or in the territories annexed finally.

Taking all these factors into consideration, we move to visualize approximately what the situation will be when the "conventional deterrent" is replaced by the "nuclear deterrent."

We must stress that we are dealing in this case with a totally vague issue, despite what has been published about it so far. The generals and the politicians know nothing of the true nature of the horrible weapons in their hands. All we have to do is to seek guidance from what happened in Nagasaki or Hiroshima on the basis of the published statistics or of what the specialized scientific organizations publish. However, there are, in addition to this, a number of western studies that contain some estimates of the impact of nuclear heads and of the required number of nuclear heads to destroy likely cities. These studies show that:

Destroying a city requires a large number of nuclear heads with a major force of 40-50 kilotons. Such destruction may even require heads with a force of megaton or more. I believe that this is not available now and will not be available shortly after the desired nuclear balance is achieved.

In case nuclear heads with a lesser force (5 kilotons, 10 kilotons, 20 kilotons) are available, the counter-value targets will require many times the abovementioned numbers to be fully destroyed. But if the nuclear heads are used to strike counterpower targets, then even greater numbers and more precise means will be required.

If the objective is to inflict heavy losses on the counter-value or counterpower targets, then this can be done by both sides with a small number of nuclear heads or with large numbers of conventional and superconventional weapons.

These facts show that in the climate of instability prevailing in our area, it is not unlikely that nuclear weapons will be used against an enemy who does not possess such weapons. But if both sides manage to acquire these weapons or if the side that does not possess these heads insists on acquiring them, then a neutralization of the nuclear umbrellas will take place. This means that "nuclear stability" will develop, even if there is a gap between the size of the nuclear umbrellas available because there is a difference between conventional weapons and nuclear weapons in imposing regional stability. A limited quantitative and qualitative gap in conventional weapons may be the difference between victory and defeat and, consequently, such a gap may motivate the outbreak of preemptive wars. But matters don't go the same way where nuclear weapons are concerned. Superiority gaps in this case are not important because the available nuclear weapons, regardless of whether abundant or few, will create an impact that dictates stability.

The key to the situation in the area of deterrence continues to be the interest in the "conventional deterrent" and the "superconventional" deterrent for the reasons that we have noted. This interest is what will deter aggression in the period of the enemy's monopolization of the nuclear weapon. Without the conventional and superconventional deterrent, the Arabs cannot acquire a nuclear umbrella. This deterrent is the one that can move in case of "nuclear equality" between us and Israel and in case the regional nuclear umbrellas are neutralized by local or international pressure.

These conclusions are supported by many of those whose opinions have been cited. We may add to these the opinions Victor (Boswick) expresses in various parts of his invaluable book entitled: "The World Technology Policy and the U.S. Policy." Boswick says: "Within the framework of the instability in the sphere of the developing countries and under the canopy of the existing tensions or of the tensions that may develop, it is not unlikely that a nuclear power will use its nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear enemy. If the other side manages to acquire nuclear weapons, then stability may develop. Why did the United States use atomic bombs against Japan in Nagasaki and Hiroshima? Because Japan had no nuclear weapons. If Israel possesses a nuclear weapon, the regional balance will be upset. But if a number of countries in the area become nuclear, then the possibility of using this weapon diminishes because the regional nuclear umbrella will lose its influence and because the opposed forces will neutralize each other. Moreover, the two superpowers will agree to prevent the use of this weapon. The international system, which consists of an international nuclear umbrella possessed by the major powers and under which small regional nuclear umbrellas possessed by small countries exist, can be considered a reasonably stable system. The possession of hundreds more nuclear heads by the Soviet Union or the United States will only change the existing balance by a small degree whereas Israel's or Egypt's acquisition of a small number of nuclear heads means a lot because the area's balance will be shaken seriously."

The above charts, as well as the observations we have noted, point out another fact, namely that the "nuclear equality" phase will undoubtedly be in the interest of the Arab countries when we add the other factors concerning vastness of area, depth and availability and the ability to absorb losses. Therefore, Israel is sparing no effort to stop the Arab countries collectively or each Arab country separately from reaching this phase of equality, especially since Israel seeks to become the superregional power in the area.

In this regard, John Newhouse says in his book "the Cold Dawn" that "if a country wants to become a superregional power, this desire motivates it to become a nuclear country. To preserve this status, this country will try to prevent any other country from joining the nuclear club because the possession of nuclear power imposes equality of force between the weaker and the stronger. Both

Brazil and Israel are seeking to become superregional powers and they are exerting efforts to prevent the multiplicity of nuclear powers in their regions while permitting development of the neighbors' conventional deterrent, considering that this is the lesser of the two evils."

**Summary:** The path to equality is very dangerous insofar as the Arabs are concerned. All parts of this path will be blocked by the enemy's threat to use his conventional weapon in "surgical operations" to strike any available capabilities, regardless of whether they are peaceful nuclear capabilities or military nuclear capabilities.

Even though achieving a state of "nuclear equality" may neutralize the numerous nuclear umbrellas in the area, it will not achieve stability in the known sense of the word. Under the canopy of this equality, the conventional deterrent can be moved without the great fear which is generated internationally by moving the nuclear deterrent when matters reach the "red lines" which may not be crossed by either side. The conventional deterrent can be moved by virtue of the small number of the nuclear weapons that are available and that will become available, by virtue of their small size and force and by virtue of the likelihood that the superpowers will intervene to stop a nuclear exchange at a reasonable phase.

#### Egyptian Writer Sees North Sudanese Urging Secession of South

45040174 Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
31 Dec 88 p 5

[Article by Dr Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

#### Life Nearly Impossible

The average Sudanese family rarely escapes one of these many disasters. Undoubtedly one or more of its members would have been affected:

- Victimized in a military regime prison;
- Martyred or wounded in the civil war;
- Displaced by drought or floods;
- Fleeing abroad to escape poverty and find a livelihood; Fleeing repression in search of freedom.

As if this were not enough, and perhaps because of it, Sudan has become one of the most indebted nations in the world, burdened by payments and interest, with a debt of more than \$15 billion. This debt has resulted in rampant inflation in the prices of basic goods and services, which have become rare and a daily struggle to obtain.

This is the climate in which the Sudanese currently live. Despite the courage and strength of the people and their efficient democratic uprisings, the elected civilian governments, most recently that of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, have

not risen to the level of these problems and challenges. Partisan and family political calculations of the ruling elite still control their decisions.

In this gloomy, hopeless climate comes the call for secession of the South. This time, and for the first time, it comes from the northerners.

Those who call for the South to be separated from the North are selling many economic, political, and social pretexts, including:

"The South has cost the North \$25 billion in war and in peace."

An important Sudanese figure says that Lieutenant General 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhabab, whom all in Sudan and abroad recognize as impartial, sincere and modest, has recently finished a study of relations between southern and northern Sudan. He also said that, from the economic angle, the study gives reliable figures showing that the North has spent more than \$25 billion from its direct revenues on the South, either for reconstruction and economic development or because of the cost of the prolonged civil war, which as we said, has covered two-thirds of the existence of the independent Sudanese nation (since 1957).

Although we have not seen details of Lt Gen Siwar-al-Dhabab's study and do not know his methodology for arriving at his figures, it is certain that Southern Sudan does not contribute to the Sudanese State Treasury to any degree worth mentioning, if at all. In reality, all central treasury revenues are from sources in the north, west, and east of the country.

Southerners pay no taxes to the state, either because most of them are poor or because it is difficult to collect taxes from the few wealthy southerners, and the government does not want to anger them by insisting on collecting the taxes.

Since it was established, the Sudanese Army has not entered a foreign war. All its anti-independence [as published] military operations have been dedicated to dealing with rebels in the South. It could be said that most of the Armed Forces' budget has been spent or consumed in the lengthy civil war in Southern Sudan.

During the short periods when the civil war ceased, totaling 10 years out of 33, the central government has rushed into development and construction projects in the south in hopes of developing the South and retraining the southerners for productive, peaceful civilian life. As we have said, Sudanese Government revenues come primarily from non-southerners, and the southerners have contributed nothing financially.

By purely economic standards, ever since independence, the South has represented a continual drain on the North's resources, which are limited to begin with in war or in peace.

In fact, some northerners say that were it not for this drain, Sudan would not have become indebted to the outside world in this shameful way, and the value of the national currency would not have dropped from \$3.50 per Sudanese pound at independence to 4 pounds per dollar today.

#### **'The South Is Never Satisfied Politically'**

In addition to the economic pretexts repeated by some Sudanese in their call for separation between the South and the North, there are several political pretexts, including:

"The southerners are never satisfied." The fierce clashes among southerners put northerners in a permanent state of bewilderment and anguish. Whatever the northerners do to please one group of southerners (often one of the major tribes) angers at least one other group, if not many groups. There are more than 50 tribal groups with different languages, dialects, religions, and customs. It is difficult for any central government to find a formula for dealing with them that would please everyone.

"The southerners do not share the political aspirations of the northerners."

Since southerners did not take part in the struggle against British colonialism, there is no shared national memory uniting northerners and southerners in this regard. The latter did not take part in the resistance against despotic military regimes, notably that of Ja'far Numayri, as confirmed by the fact that he chose southerners for his personal republican guard because he did not trust the northerners. Southerners continually demand that the North reduce its ties with the Arab world in general and with Egypt in particular. What is more, they demand that the northerners renounce their Arab-Islamic identity and content themselves with Sudanese-African identity—two ideas which are incompatible.

"The southerners want nothing good for the North, even if it also is good for them." On this subject, the calls for secession provide a long list of southern opposition and impediments to joint development projects that would benefit all, particularly the South, merely in order to deprive the North of such projects. [passage omitted]

Here we get to the heart of the matter. Northerners' calls for secession have begun to acknowledge what most southerners have been saying since before independence: that they are a different people from the northerners in almost every respect.

There is a difference in language and culture. The northerners are Arabs in language and culture, while the southerners have more than 50 non-Arab languages and cultures. If language and culture are what created shared feelings, there is scant hope that they would create such feelings, particularly since southerners refuse to learn Arabic because it is the language of the tyrannical, exploitative northerners whose ancestors traded on the slave market for centuries.

There is a difference in religion. While more than 95 percent of northerners are Muslims, most southerners are pagan, following primitive local spirit religions. A majority of no more than 20 percent are Christians converted by foreign missionaries. A smaller minority, no more than 10 percent, are Muslims converted by Muslim traders in the last 2 centuries.

There is also the racial difference. The northerners are a mixture of Semitic and Hamitic peoples, and they have the energy of the Mahra and other Arabs, while the southerners are of almost pure Negroid origins.

Finally, there is the socioeconomic difference. While the northerners have reached a significant, previously unattained stage of socioeconomic development levels of urban and rural stability, of agricultural-industrial-commercial growth, or of education and political awareness, southerners are still living on subsistence economies in primitive tribal and kin formations and at lower levels of education and political awareness. In other words, the South is at least 100 years behind the North. A large portion of the responsibility for this backwardness can be placed on historical causes, most importantly Britain's southern policy, which completely isolated the South from the North for more than half a century, not encouraging it to interact with the North and benefit from the latter's relative development, on the one hand, and Great Britain's failure to develop the South itself, on the other.

For all the preceding social, economic and political reasons, the calls for separating the North and South have a common basis in both South and North.

These calls are now demanding a plebiscite on dividing Sudan into two countries, one in the North and the other in the South. They ask: Why insist upon two different people's living together in one country against the wishes of one or both by using force or fire? Why is it not better for each to try his separate path, since a joint path spanning 33 years has failed? If the world has decided that peoples should have the right of self-determination, if the Arabs are demanding this right for the Palestinians night and day, and if the Africans demand this right for the people of South Africa, is it not right, just and fair that all northerners and southerners be granted the right of self-determination?

**Cement Industry, New Complex for Petrochemical Production Discussed**  
**44040207 Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 15 Dec 88 p 6**

[Text] QNA—The third meeting of the technical consultation committee for the cement industry in the Arab Gulf countries set up by the Gulf Organization for Industrial Consultation was concluded yesterday at the Organization's headquarters.

Engineer 'Abdallah al-'Abdallah, the Organization's assistant secretary general, underlined in his speech at the opening meeting the importance of the cement industry as one of the fundamental mainstays of the development process the region is going through in view of the great achievements realized by this industry on the regional level. He said that local production now meets all the local market's requirements and that there is great potential for exporting surplus.

He drew attention to the fact that the cement industry is suffering from the state of depression which the region is experiencing and from the policy of opening the market to imported cement.

The organization's assistant secretary general said several cement factories in the area have been able to overcome this difficult stage. They have also benefited from it by reducing production costs and developing management and marketing methods. They have also been able to establish many coordination channels that would boost these factories' capability to develop and to compete in world markets.

The organization's assistant secretary general said in his speech that the organization is making great efforts to boost the industry's capability, adding that it has prepared many studies and researches and sought to coordinate between producers. It has also helped member states to develop certain decisions and legislations in order to boost this industry and pave the way for a better future.

The 1-day meeting discussed a number of subjects related to this industry, including the use of plastic substitutes in the manufacture of cement bags, the recent innovations in the Gulf cement industry, technical modernization, training, the market prospects, and the problems facing the industry in the area and the necessary solutions for them. It has also discussed the question of surplus in cement produced in the Arab Gulf countries.

Delegates from the Gulf countries' members of the organization attended the meeting together with delegates from specialized establishments concerned with the cement industry, the Arab Cement and Building Material Union, and the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] General Secretariat.

On the other hand, the 1-day promotional meeting for the projected production of 2,4-tolylene diisocyanate used

in the manufacture of polyurethane foam held at the Gulf Organization for Industrial Consultation was concluded yesterday.

Sabah Rushayd al-'Ubaydi, the organization's assistant secretary general, said in a speech at the opening meeting that the participants will discuss one of the petrochemical basic industries which is the focus of great interest by officials of the member states since it constitutes a basic element in many other industries of major interest in the region.

He said that the participants will be acquainted with the accurate data and facts contained in the study which the organization prepared so as to be the basis on which the decision that would achieve the hopes pinned on the project will be taken.

The organization's assistant secretary general said that the organization's general secretariat has proposed the building of a production complex with a planned output capacity of 40,000 tons annually. The overall fixed investment for the complex is estimated at \$212 million in addition to an operating capital of approximately \$15 million.

He said that the study proposes the building of the complex in one of two locations, either in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia or in Iraq, adding that the complex is expected to be built in the early nineties in order to achieve self-sufficiency for most of the basic raw material necessary for a number of petrochemical industries.

Those who participated in the meeting included representatives from private companies and private and public institutes interested in the production of foam material in the Arab Gulf countries as well as some Gulf investment parties and the GCC General Secretariat.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

**Points of Contention in U.S.-PLO Dialogue Described**

**44040271 Nicosia FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 5 Feb 89 pp 21-22**

[Article by Jawad al-Bushayti: "United States-Palestine: Most Dangerous Political Battle PLO Has Fought Accompanies 'Substantive Dialogue'"]

[Text] The American-Palestinian dialogue will remain at a low level until an understanding is reached on the basic point of difference: a Palestinian state or a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation.

From the time the first session of the "substantive dialogue" was held between the PLO and Robert Pelletreau, the American ambassador to Tunis who is the only one authorized to hold this dialogue, the extensive and

wide-ranging political and diplomatic initiatives which the Palestinian leader, Yasir 'Arafat, will undertake on the Arab and international level have become the basis for boosting the position and cards of the Palestinian interlocutor. For the final results of the Palestinian-American dialogue undoubtedly will play a prominent, indeed crucial, role in determining the fate of the peace process in the entire Middle East region.

It is a known fact that Washington has been intent from the outset on making it clear that the only thing new in its relations with the PLO was the establishment of official communications and the opening of a substantive dialogue with it, patiently affirming that dialogue with the PLO does not mean recognition of the organization or of a Palestinian state, apart from the fact that it does not mean negotiation.

All these verbal conditions the United States has imposed on its young and promising relationship with the PLO do not stop the fundamental truth from manifesting itself, for there is no doubt that the Palestinian-American dialogue represents the actual starting point for negotiations pertaining to the settlement of the Palestinian question.

This fact is recognized by the American president's National Security Advisor, Brent Scowcroft, who said in an interview with the American TV network, ABC, that a meeting between Secretary of State James Baker with 'Arafat would be premature, explaining that the United States ought to "explore and look into defining" the real objectives of the Palestinian leader, adding that "such a meeting is not necessarily desirable (...) I think it would be premature if held before getting a clearer idea about 'Arafat's objectives."

If Scowcroft had wanted to phrase these statements in a less diplomatic, less conservative and not so cautious a language, he would have said "we are holding real and substantive negotiations with 'Arafat that allow us to get a closer look at the kind of settlement to the Palestinian question the PLO may accept in light of its acceptance of Security Council Resolution 242 and its recognition of Israel's right to live in peace and security."

Brother Khalid al-Hasan, chairman of the PNC Foreign Relations Committee, made statements in this regard carrying similar meanings. The Kuwaiti News Agency, KUNA, quoted him as saying that, during the Bush administration, the Palestinian-American dialogue will revert to its previous level of representation, deeming it unlikely that high-level American personalities would participate in this phase (...) and before arriving at a full and mutual understanding on basic issues.

Hence, it is apparent that the Palestinian-American dialogue which brother Mahmud 'Abbas (Abu-Mazin), member of the PLO Executive Committee, expects to resume in coming days will not rise to a higher level of

representation before the two sides arrive at a "full and mutual understanding on basic issues." Herein lies precisely the enormous importance as well as the many perils of this dialogue.

It is very important to get to know the main objectives the United States is seeking to accomplish through the soon-to-be-resumed "substantive dialogue" with the PLO.

Ascertaining PLO renunciation of terrorism was the first objective Washington set for the dialogue. It was of the opinion that the continuation of the dialogue was contingent on PLO continued renunciation, in word and deed, of terrorism. Notwithstanding that Washington distinguished between the uprising and terrorism, it will not hesitate to do everything it can to convince to halt completely, and perhaps officially, its attacks on Israeli military targets and also to curb as much as possible the Palestinian uprising on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the pretext that those constituted two main conditions for the pursuit and development of the diplomatic and political process.

This, perhaps, is what prompted the Palestinian leader to clear up any confusion in this regard by affirming that the uprising would not be halted before conditions and circumstances necessary to accomplish its greater political goals were secured and that he did not order a complete halt of but rather scaled-down Palestinian attacks against Israeli military targets.

After the United States outlined its first objective, it began revealing, in one way or another, its subsequent political and diplomatic objectives.

Thus, the new American administration began interpreting PLO acceptance of Resolution 242 and recognition of Israel's right to live in peace and security as follows:

1. The final workable solution of the Palestinian question will not include an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip even in the presence of a pre-agreement that it would not exist for more than a few months.

2. A Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, according to the American notion which is inconsistent with the way international law conceives it, must be established before reaching a final solution to the Palestinian question and perhaps before the convocation of an international conference for peace in the Middle East.

This American game is based on the idea of turning the political and historic gains the PLO has recently attained into a jackhammer to destroy the long-term objectives of

the Palestinian struggle. In other words, after an independent state is established and a provisional government is formed and before peace negotiations get underway, a confederated union, as conceived by the United States, could be established between the Jordanians and Palestinians.

Hence, the Palestinian leader asserts that removing Israeli occupation from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem and giving an independent Palestinian state the right to practice its actual sovereignty must be accomplished first, to be followed by the creation of a confederated union between the Jordanians and Palestinians, or between Jordan and an independent Palestinian state.

Within the framework of this American orientation, which will become more clear in upcoming dialogue sessions, Washington will bring pressure to bear on the PLO to urge it to give up the idea of an independent Palestinian delegation in favor of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian one.

In preparing to face these American pressures, the PLO asserted in no uncertain terms that the idea of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation was gone forever for Palestinian representation in an international conference will be through an independent delegation or a joint Arab delegation in which all members would be equal.

3. Support Israel in its refusal to go back to the 1967 borders, meaning that a confederation with Jordan would include parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Israeli withdrawal would be determined by two factors: the demographic one which means that such a withdrawal would have to include areas with heavy Palestinian population concentrations; and the security one, that Israel would hold on to those areas which, from its point of view, are essential for its security. As for the status of Jerusalem, it would be resolved in such a way as not to conflict with Israel's declaration of the "unified" Holy City as its eternal capital.

The seriousness of these American objectives and aspirations make it incumbent on the PLO to make efforts alongside its dialogue with the United States to boost its negotiating position by:

1. Focusing in its dialogue with the United States on the need to speed up the convocation of an international conference preparatory committee, for the key issues pertaining to the settlement of the Palestinian question can be resolved only within the framework of such a conference. Even transitional arrangements on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip must be agreed upon within the framework of an international conference whereby the PLO can enjoy a stronger negotiating position.

2. Pursuing and escalating the Palestinian uprising and, hence, countering all attempts aimed at curbing or halting it before conditions and circumstances needed to implement its greater political objectives are secured.

3. Speeding up the convocation of an Arab summit to settle the issue of Arab and Palestinian representation in the international conference and to protect the Palestinian peace initiative by turning it into a universal Arab endeavor.

4. Furthering and bolstering consultation and coordination between the PLO and the Soviet Union which at present has a greater impact on American Middle East policy and is more knowledgeable about this policy's objectives and prospects.

5. Intensifying political and diplomatic initiatives which EEC countries with a view to urging them to assume an independent role that allows them to exert pressure on the United States, thereby speeding up the convocation of an international conference and providing a clearer explanation of what it means by the "legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people."

The most fierce and dangerous battle facing the PLO is the so-called American-Palestinian "substantive dialogue."

**Islamic Resistance Movement, HAMAS, Profiled**  
**44230046 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV (Weekend Supplement)**  
**in Hebrew 16 Dec 88 pp 14, 19-20**

[Article by Shefi Gaba'i]

[Text] On Wednesday, 9 December 1987, the intifadah [uprising] caught fire almost without any warning in the Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, the biggest and most frustrated of all the refugee camps in the territories. The reports on the communications network in the army command posts in the area told of an army unit of reservists trapped in an angry, violent demonstration. The unit was extricated after it opened fire. As a result, one local youth was killed and another ten wounded. The government did not believe that this occurrence was likely in the coming days to draw the majority of the population of the territories into a violent and continuing struggle. At that time, the old idea still prevalent was that Israel was capable of exercising its sovereignty without difficulty and without allocating large forces in Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip.

Six days earlier, the Israeli driver of a semi-trailer, traveling on the strip's central road, had lost control of his vehicle and struck a car from Jabalya full of workers returning from Israel. In the accident, four persons were killed and seven injured. A baseless rumor spread in the strip that the accident had been deliberately caused by the brother of Shalma Seqel, a businessman from Bat-Yam who had been stabbed to death some days earlier in the Gaza market by a man identified with an extremist

Islamic movement. Some time later, it was learned that the organization was the Islamic Resistance Movement, or HAMAS for short, that secretly organized all the internal forces and which gave the green light for the "revolution of the mosques."

HAMAS (its initials stand for Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyah, which translates to the "Islamic Resistance Movement"), right now is treating the uprising in the territories as petty work carried out by its activists, sometimes in secret and sometimes in public. According to a number of its representatives, the Israeli military government gave it more than a little help in its first organizational days. They claim that the government apparently tried, without success, to encourage local groups as a counterweight to Fatah and to other Palestinian terror factions.

Three years ago, the young people of HAMAS, who grew thin beards, had already insuilled fear in the population of Gaza. They set fire to video stores and shops selling alcoholic beverages, took to the streets, threatened girls immodestly dressed, prohibited musical performances at weddings and tried to shut down the movie theaters. A senior army officer told us then: "We invited the leaders of the extremist sects to a meeting and explained to them that they could do whatever they wanted except terrorist attacks, and they solemnly promised that they were involved only in attempts to return their young people to their Islamic roots."

The leaders of HAMAS, most of whom are identified with the historic "Muslim Brotherhood" movement that for years tried to gnaw away at Arab regimes, scornfully reject the PLO's claim that the uprising is its creation. The top leader of HAMAS, Shaykh Khalil Quqa, who was deported to Lebanon 6 months ago, once told us, "The PLO woke up much later. It argued at first that the massive demonstrations organized in Gaza and in the refugee camps in the West Bank were a passing phenomenon, like all the riots stirred up in the 20 years of the occupation. But when internal information reached the chief of the PLO's military command, Abu-Jihad, that this time things were serious, the entire leadership of the PLO suffered a shock on learning that the uprising was a religious one. The PLO leadership simply thought that the people of the territories had been torn from their grip and that Palestine was getting away from them. Only then did they rush to concentrate all their workers in order to establish what was called the unified command of the intifadah in the territories. This is a secular leadership controlled by Fatah and the left wing factions of the Palestinian resistance."

HAMAS (which means "ardor" in Arabic) is a religious force spreading not only within the Muslims in the territories and Israel, but also among the Muslims of the other countries of the Middle East and the great Muslim centers around the world. This force already publishes in London a colorful and glossy weekly, "Islamic Palestine," that rivets all the activists around the world with

the sacrifices, both in lives and in property, of the Muslims in the territories. HAMAS refers to the uprising not by the name "intifadah," but under the religious heading "Revolution of the Mosques." Its leaders believe that intifadah is an action that disappears after its extinction, while a revolution in the name of Islam will never pass from the world until it achieves the goals it set for itself. "We are not a faction of the PLO and never will be. We are a part of the worldwide Islamic movement. We also have no connection with the humanistic Shi'ite stream because all of us, the Palestinians, are members of the Sunni community of Islam," contends Shaykh Quqa.

Arab weeklies have stated that 1 month after the outbreak of the uprising, and within all the running about by the man who was the military commander of the PLO, Khalil al-Wazir, that is, Abu-Jihad, who was killed in Tunisia in March, an internal command of the intifadah was established with the participation of all the representatives of the Palestinian factions, including HAMAS. This took place in an Arab capital. Abu-Jihad warned the leaders of the Islamic movement that the revolution of the mosques would not hold a position without unification with the PLO. He promised that in exchange for this unification, it would receive the money necessary for guiding a popular, continuing revolution until victory, until the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. So arose a national unified command at the beginning of the intifadah, but not for long. The leaders of HAMAS pulled out of it on the ground that it was difficult to find a common language with representatives of George Habash, Ahmed Jibril and Nayif Hawatimah, whom they deemed heretics.

But other sources paint a different picture. According to them, HAMAS has been an ally of Jordan since the 1950's. Jordan set up HAMAS because of its deep crisis with the PLO in the territories. In connection with this, HAMAS publications indirectly praise Jordan. Shaykh Ahmad Yasin from Gaza, who was among those set free in the prisoner trade with Jibril and now serves as a "picture window" of HAMAS as its spiritual leadership, told us, "We have no connection with Arab institutions. We have found that the entire Islamic stream is the ruler of our population in Gaza. It is a stable stream, based on deep faith. We want an Islamic state, and it does not matter to us that in the beginning the state will be under the control of the PLO. But we believe that, in time, the power of Islam will be victorious."

Since HAMAS's withdrawal from the command of the uprising, it has started issuing numbered notices of its own the way the PLO does. Its Notice No 37, which appeared at the time that Yasir 'Arafat and his colleagues were frantically trying to start a state, attacks Fatah in the sharpest terms and expresses opposition to any concession, "even one speck of dust from the soil of the homeland." The notice condemns the Arab governments, that sold out Palestine, and opposes any political

process for solving the Palestinian problem, including an international conference. The headline of the notice: "Islamic Palestine from the river to the sea."

The body of the notice revealed violent confrontations that cropped up recently between the popular committees of HAMAS and Fatah activists in a number of towns in the territories. Not long ago, 'Arafat instructed his cadres in the territories to make every effort to eliminate differences in opinion with HAMAS. But the extremist Islamic streams are not ready to reconcile with the PLO line and with the leftist factions to blur over and play down their achievements. One of HAMAS' leaders recently said, "We proved to the secular leadership of Fatah that the strike days they declared in the territories are, without coordination with us, days of full market activity everywhere. But when we announce strike days, the settlements of Gaza and many of the settlements of the West Bank become ghost towns."

'Arafat himself this month tried to persuade the Islamic leadership. But a weekly HAMAS publication made clear that the leaders were offended during the course of the discussion by his assertion that zealous Muslims make up only 30 percent of the population of the territories while 60 percent of the population is for Fatah. The leadership also did not win financial aid corresponding to its strength in the uprising. The weekly denounced attempts to conceal HAMAS' strength which, it contended, had begun to worry the two centers of Palestinian officialdom, one sitting in Damascus and one in Tunis, that have crowned themselves as the spearheads of the intifadah. "We do not have the kind of public relations and means of publicity that the PLO or the leftist, pro-Syrian factions have, but our work is fundamental and our people do the central work," the weekly claimed.

HAMAS is not satisfied just with declarations to give concrete expression to the rising power of the Islamic streams. HAMAS activists erase Fatah wall slogans, try to impart a religious character to disturbances and call upon the masses to destroy the homes of leftists. HAMAS is striving for Islamization of the intifadah in accordance with the viewpoint of the "Muslim Brothers." It rejects the trend to a democratic, secular Palestine and the Marxism of the left. At the last Palestinian national council in Algiers, a group of HAMAS religious leaders took part but did not hesitate to circulate "religious decrees" that ruled that anyone speaking of Resolutions 242 and 338 was a heretic. These religious decrees enraged 'Arafat, who shouted to the authors, "Either religion or politics. We are engaged in politics here."

After establishing a foundation in Gaza, HAMAS activists are expanding their base of support in the West Bank. They have already formed secret cells in cities and villages in Judaea, Samaria, and in East Jerusalem. But Fatah activists are still holding the reins in these areas. They are even preparing for the moment when HAMAS

supporters will try to take control of the streets in the West Bank. Organizations of the left, foremost of which are the Communists, fear that they will be the first target of HAMAS in its liquidation of the secularism of the intifadah. Leftist elements are trying to attack the Islamic streams, stressing their hostility towards the PLO and the dangers they foresee in the "Muslim Brotherhood" and their satellites, the other Islamic movements. HAMAS has already struck at the headquarters of the Palestinian Red Crescent, a leftist stronghold. In Gaza, its members beat "nationalist fighters" with iron chains.

In Fatah circles, there is fear that, with aid from Iran, the Islamic factions will open a war of annihilation against the PLO and the left wing. In fact, Iran has attempted to gain influence over the HAMAS movement by establishing an Islamic umbrella organization for the liberation of Palestine for all the extremist movements in the Middle East, including Hezbollah in Lebanon and the underground in Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia. It is even aided by the al-Quds radio station, which broadcasts for rebellion from the Druze city of al-Suwayda' in the Druze mountains of southern Syria. But HAMAS leaders assert that there is no common ideological, religious background between them and the Islamic teachings of Khomeini.

In the wake of the growing estrangement from the PLO, HAMAS' leaders published a similar "Palestinian covenant." The covenant opens and is checkered throughout with verses from the Koran and quotations from the founder of the "Muslim Brotherhood," Shaykh Hasan al-Banna, who was murdered in Egypt in 1949: "Degradation for the Jews, wherever they may be, for they have aroused the wrath of Allah. Wretchedness has been decreed for them, for they have rejected the word of Allah and killed the prophets without justification." The introduction says, "The Islamic resistance movement is integrating its arms with all the fighters of the Islamic Jihad or the liberation of Palestine. Four our war with the Jews is a great and grave endeavor."

Paragraph 6 of the pact sets forth: "HAMAS is the sole Palestinian movement faithful to Allah working for the day when the flag of Allah will flutter over every inch of the land of Palestine, and in the shadow of Islam, people of all religions can coexist in safety, assured of their lives, their property, and their rights." Paragraph 8: "The credo of HAMAS is that the Koran is the law and Jihad is the way of death in the service of Allah." One paragraph emphasizes: "The land of Palestine was set down for the generations of Muslims until the end of days. No part of it can be renounced. It does not belong to an Arab state or to an organization. What have been called solutions of peace and international conferences violate our principles."

Paragraph 28 of the covenant, which deals with the PLO, does make clear that that organization is composed of fathers, brothers, relatives, and friends but, unfortunately, has adopted the idea of a secular state, which violates the idea of religion. "As much as we esteem the

PLO, we cannot change the Islamic nature of Palestine that is a part of our religion, and he who scorns his religion suffers a loss. On the day that the PLO adopts Islam as a way of life, we will become its soldiers and kindlers of its flame." Paragraph 36 of the covenant notes: "HAMAS does not seek personal prestige, or material profit, or social position, and does not go out against anyone of our people or those seeking conciliation between us and non-Muslims. For anyone who adopts genuine Islam as a way of life, the HAMAS movement is his army."

The HAMAS movement's leader in exile, Shaykh Khalil Quqa, was asked this month by the Kuwaiti daily, AL-ANBA', why he calls the intifadah the "revolution of the mosques." "We began to work some years after the Six Day War," he said. "This activity, right under the nose of the Israeli military administration, bore a religious, ideological, and cultural character. The objective: to block emigration from the territories and to absorb all the emptiness and the weakness visited upon the new Palestinian generation. As part of this work, they gave enrichment lessons in the mosques. The government itself helped in building new mosques that served also as schools and social clubs. We not only recited religious sermons in them but also conducted political discussions. Through this means, a generation was molded anew and this was the beginning of the revolution."

According to him, many around the world do not grasp the fact that the dispute between the Arabs and Israel is religious, between the Tora and the Koran, between Jews and Muslims. Every Muslim sage has ruled that conciliation with Israel is forbidden. "That is the reason that the problem of Palestine is not a Palestinian problem and not a problem of the PLO, but an Arab-Islamic problem, an Islamic mission first and foremost. I emphasize that the Palestinian problem is an Islamic problem from start to finish, and its master is the Islamic stream."

Shaykh Quqa tries to recall in his words the influence of the leader of the "Muslim Brothers" in Egypt, Shaykh Hasan al-Banna. "All the way back in the 1940's, he laid the foundation for today's HAMAS. The Islamic resistance movement in the territories is nothing but a branch of the Islamic movement quietly spreading in the Islamic world, the western world, in Europe, in Asia, everywhere. We are succeeding in financing ourselves independent of the PLO, primarily by contributions from Muslims and Arabs in the Gulf states and by gifts from Muslim charitable institutions around the world. Financial contributions have flowed to us during all three secret stages of preparation for the uprising, during the stage of the mosques beginning in 1975, the stage of the institutions that we founded in 1980, and the stage of the war of the stones with the outbreak of the revolution of the mosques."

The Islamic movement is not all of one piece. Like the PLO, it is built upon different factions, united for the time being because of the intifadah. During the past year,

such factions as "al-Jihad," the party for the liberation of Palestine, al-Takfir wal-Hijrah, and others stood out. It is known that an ideological-religious dispute exists among them. For example, some of the factions are striving for social reform from within and a gradual return to Islamic roots, and only after that for opening within the population the subject of the struggle against Israel. Other factions, primarily al-Jihad, argue that, before all else, it is necessary to concentrate all efforts against Israel. But some months after the eruption of the intifadah, all the factions united under the flag of the "Muslim Brothers" for military action. They saw in the mass outbreak a sign from heaven, from the prophets, of the realization of the dreams of Islam.

In his house in Kfar Qasim, Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Isa, leader of the Islamic movement in Israel, speaks to us about this. "There is no difference among the factions regarding the final objective. All the factions are united today under the umbrella movement of the Islamic resistance. They are not disqualifying even the PLO. But for achieving the objective, they are dependent upon aid from the PLO. All of them are members of the PLO, and they know that they are not able to accept a state under the direction of the PLO. But first, they want a Palestinian state. I, for example, today wish for Israeli recognition of the PLO in order to eliminate the cycle of fear on which the population of Israel was brought up, and so that they will give the Islamic leadership the right to decide the nature of the Palestinian state that will arise. As a leader, I am ready to recognize the state of Israel on condition that they will stop converting their state into a military camp. In my opinion, the way of the Merkava tank and the nuclear reactor is not the way to make peace. It is correct that not every Palestinian is a member of the PLO, but by means of the international connections of the PLO, we want first off to realize our rights."

Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Isa offered a parable. "We have a house, Palestine is its name, a great and warm house, but the house is built of glass, not iron. So far, the house has not been completely shattered because all of us hope to keep it in good shape. But if we continue in a violent struggle, we will smash the glass and the two peoples may lose their homeland as in Lebanon. I want to direct a call to the Jewish people: Come live with us in tranquility. I am ready to go to all the other Muslim factions in the territories and to convince them from the religious perspective, both written and oral, that there is no escape from recognizing the Jews in Palestine. The branches of HAMAS are not terrible. They recognize my leadership. There is nothing to fear from them. Our goal is a Palestinian state. If it should arise, we will propose to the PLO that the people should choose the form of the government, religious or secular, by means of a national referendum. We will not conduct a way among ourselves if the secularists win."

In Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Isa's spacious visitor's room hang large pictures emphasizing the Islamic motifs that now serve as the symbols of HAMAS, the raised clenched fist

inside a volume of the Koran, and above, the beginning phrase, "In the name of Allah." The Shaykh explains to us the motifs of the picture decorating the western wall of the room. "This ship symbolized the sea of our suffering, the burden of which is to rescue the souls of people before they sink into the depths. This is the sea of hatred, and religious people have taken upon themselves this task, that it will not swallow up all of us."

[MA'ARIV] Does this also apply to Jews?

[Shaykh 'Abdallah] The Shaykh answers that his duty is to save Muslims from secularism with God's help.

[MA'ARIV] How is it you speak of God while HAMAS speaks of annihilating the Jews?

[Shaykh 'Abdallah] The misfortune is that your left accepts the man without God and your Rabbi Moshe Levinger accepts God without the man.

The Muslim Brothers movement, the backbone of HAMAS, has been disappointed so far in the Arab states. But it has blossomed in the territories. The fact is that there were only 100 mosques in the Gaza Strip in 1967 while today there are more than 700. Al-Azhar University, a branch of the great Islamic University of Egypt, was also founded in the city of Gaza. Young people from Gaza have been allowed to complete their religious studies in various places in the Middle East. In general, the Israeli Government has seen to all religious requests.

But today, the official publication of the government states: "In recent years, a religious-Islamic extremism has sprung up in the territories that has taken a nationalist expression, a sort of genie that broke loose from the bottle of the Tales of the Thousand and One Nights. From many mosques have come calls for breaches of the peace. Those who work with the government have been taken to the mosques and forced to swear to return to their origins. In contrast to Gaza, it is correct today to say that in Judaea and Samaria the weight of the Islamic block in relation to the PLO is not great, but the latest events in the area are increasing and strengthening the religious bloc, which is gathering power and constitutes a threat to Israel in the near and far future. The religious streams are liable to sweep along the entire population as happened in Iran and to bring it to a high level of political combativeness. This escalation is becoming a grave security problem requiring attention and care in equal degree to that directed today toward the PLO and its activity."

An Egyptian journalist once wrote, "If we give the extremist Islamic streams the opportunity to operate freely, they will multiply like leeches, and in the name of Allah." Since then, the journalist has been placed under tight security out of fear that the religious underground will assassinate him.

"Have no doubt, this is the most serious problem in the Middle East today," the same journalist told us recently in his office in Cairo.

[Box, p 20]

Dr Fathi al-Shaqaqi, a prominent leader in HAMAS, although he belongs to the al-Takfir wal-Hijrah factions that were involved in the murder of the late Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, continues to exercise his religious power in the territories from somewhere in exile following his expulsion from Gaza last year. In an interview with the weekly AL-'ALIM published in London, he revealed that the Islamic Resistance Movement, operating as an underground in a number of Arab countries, was ready to break out of its hiding places and declare rebellions to bring down several Arab regimes.

But, according to al-Shaqaqi, these regimes are aware of the spread of the Islamic underground. They have prepared mass preventive detentions of the entire leadership who are cast into torture chambers.

He does not believe that the uprising in the territories has run its course. As he sees it, it is possible that PLO members may weary but on no account will the believers in Allah grow tired, even if the price in blood is dear. "We know that the PLO leadership in the territories is not unified, but there are no cracks in the HAMAS movement." He revealed that "we have studied the Lebanese techniques of resistance against the IDF [Israeli Defense Forces] before its withdrawal from South Lebanon. That too was a revolution of the mosques, the foundations of which were laid under the nose of the IDF inside the mosques of Sidon, Tyre, and al-Nabatiyah. The difference between us is that we know not to use weapons in the current uprising even though we have plenty of arms."

Al-Shaqaqi counted off the reasons for the uprising in the territories. "The disappointment of the Palestinian people with the Arab governments that had promised to free them from the yoke of conquest; the political change that evolved in the PLO and turned it into an established Arab regime like all the other Arab regimes; acts of oppression and humiliation committed by the Israeli military administration during the course of 20 years, which insulted the Palestinian honor; and finally, the religious awakening spreading among the peoples of the Middle East, even among the Israelis themselves."

#### Economic Difficulties in West Bank, Gaza Described

44040276 al-Dammam AL-IQTISAD WA AL-'AMAL  
in Arabic Jan 89 pp 82-84

[Article: "Palestine: Occupied Economy Nightmare"]

[Text] The Palestinian state has been born. At a time when this slogan is being frequently repeated and one year after the uprising erupted in the occupied territories, that is to say the occupied Palestinian state, some people are wondering how it is surviving—with difficulty, but with hope.

Over 25,000 Palestinians have been shot, beaten, or gassed or have suffered broken bones; 35,000 people have been jailed so far, 6,000 of whom are still under detention. This is how Hanna Sinyurah, editor-in-chief of the Palestinian newspaper, AL-FAJR, began his description of the economic rights and the economic situation in the newborn Palestinian state. Whereas these people have been denied the primary economic right—life and physical freedom—the Palestinian state as a whole is facing numerous problems in the absence of economic rights internally and export markets abroad.

### Economic Terrorism

Starting with the land, "land is at the crux of the conflict," says Jean Paul Chenoulu, professor at the University of Nancy in France. In the Palestinian state, 62,000 Israelis live on over 50 percent of the land (consuming more than 50 percent of its water resources) while 1.8 million Palestinians live on the remaining area.

"Israel has sequestered 52 percent of the West Bank to build 130 settlements accomodating 60,000 Israeli settlers. This number equals the annual Palestinian birth-rate on the West Bank," says Sinyurah, adding, "and in the Gaza Strip, 2,000 settlers are living on 20 settlements occupying 40 percent of this narrow, densely-populated strip."

As of 1967, the Palestinians have been living under economic terrorism described by Gazan lawyer Fayiz Abu-Rahmah as follows: "Customs officers raid shops to examine books and records with a view to imposing arbitrary and crippling taxes. Recently, they have stopped issuing identity cards to people who have not paid their taxes, leaving a large number of businessmen without identification. Income tax is also used to harass and displace people and the authorities have imposed a mandatory change of license plates at a fee ranging from 50 to over 400 dinars (\$770) per new plate."

### Relations of Subordination and Exploitation

It is clear, Sinyurah says, that "Israel wants the land without the people." He points out that "it has issued 1,200 military orders to change the laws within the occupied territories, all of them aimed at denying the Palestinian people economic independence." Israeli economic practices of course are illegal and are in contravention of international laws and conventions. The Palestinians have tried to resist them on these grounds as well. "We went to the Israeli Supreme Court and invoked Judge Von Glen's opinion that an occupying state could not impose new taxes on the areas it occupies," Abu-Rahmah said, and added: "Nonetheless, the court said that the occupied areas' economy is part of the Israeli economy."

This situation creates a relationship of subordination and exploitation between the economy of the Palestinian state and that of Israel. It is made more complicated by

the absence of export markets for Palestinian products led by citrus fruits and vegetables. Hanna Sinyurah estimates that "there are 120,000 Palestinian families (60,000 in the Gaza Strip and 60,000 on the West Bank) who depend on wages earned in Israel." Although Abu-Rahmah says that "a group of them have opted to quit their jobs because of the dangers they encounter at the hands of the revolters and from within," citing a recent incident "inside Israel where four Palestinian workers were willfully set on fire in a hut," Sinyurah estimates that "at least \$500 million in compensation must be paid to the families annually if we want the workers to stop working in Israel."

### Export Market Shrinking

Israeli factories are taking advantage of shrinking export markets for Palestinian agricultural products to buy them at the cheapest prices. Hanna Sinyurah estimates citrus fruit losses incurred by the Gaza Strip alone at about \$36 million a year: "The Gaza Strip produces 150,000 tons of citrus fruits at a world price of \$300 a ton, and Israeli factories buy them for less than \$60 a ton." He adds: "Italy has suggested building a factory to absorb the citrus fruit surplus in the Gaza Strip but Israel has been blocking the construction of such a factory for 21 years."

As for the West Bank, it is facing an olive oil marketing crisis, particularly in the wake of the Jordanian decision, confirmed by Minister of Agriculture Marwan al-Hamad, banning the sale of Palestinian oil in Jordan, while maintaining unlimited transit rights for this oil destined for markets outside the kingdom. "There are difficulties in finding markets, even in Arab countries which ought to adopt these products," Sinyurah says. "We have, for example, a surplus of 25,000 tons of olive oil—we produce 35,000 tons and consume 10,000 tons. Why don't the Arabs buy it instead of compelling Abu-'Ammar to intermediate with Italy to buy it?"

### Infrastructure

The Palestinian economic situation threatens to deteriorate should Jordan decide to ban the sale of other products. Jordanian authorities have limited the amount of bananas that can be sold on the Jordanian market to half of what it used to be at the beginning of October 1988. A Palestinian businessman says that Jordan informed a West Bank agricultural cooperative delegation that the newborn Palestinian state will be treated as a foreign country for trade purposes, while awaiting the ratification of trade agreements between these cooperatives and the kingdom. Whereas some people see Jordan's economic hardships as a reason for these measures, others do not rule out the explanation that they represent a struggle to control agricultural and marketing committees which the Palestinians regard as a nucleus for their self-administration. "The Palestinians want to institute

foundations for an administration parallel to the occupation through popular committees: education, agriculture, health, marketing, protection," Sinyurah says. "This administration is being built in spite of the occupation. We are proceeding with the building of the infrastructure of the Palestinian state."

### Critical Need for Housing Bank

On its part, Israel is placing restrictions on the transfer of money to the occupied Palestinian state. These restrictions are choking the Palestinian economy more and more. "Before the uprising, the amount of money allowed to be carried across the bridge or at the airports used to be 200 dinars (\$335)," says Abu-Rahmah who believes that "economic recession in the Gulf has affected us, but not in a big way because aid is insignificant to begin with and most of it is in the form of transfers that workers make to their relatives." About direct subsidy, Sinyurah, who estimates the total value of transfers to the occupied Palestinian state at no more than \$12 million a year, says "we welcome the subsidy resolutions adopted at the Algiers Summit. I have heard several amounts mentioned, from \$12 million to \$45 million a month, but we have not seen anything yet. Obstacles blocking the arrival of subsidies are placed by Israel because it wants to block material subsidies with all its might."

Sinyurah, however, believes that there are different ways to channel Arab subsidies to the newborn Palestinian state. He places steadfastness on the ground at the top of his priorities. Therefore, he "calls upon the brothers to set up a Palestinian housing bank based on providing an apartment or a modest house for every family to settle down. We are in critical need of a housing bank."

### No Rights Under Occupation

Palestinians are facing a critical employment crisis, for high qualifications in particular. "Our people represent 3 percent of the Arab nation, but 12 percent of Arab university graduates," Sinyurah emphasizes. "Now we are facing unemployment. We have 500 unemployed doctors and 600 unemployed engineers a year. Only 10 percent of Palestinian university graduates find jobs locally."

Finally, the political and economic problems are completely intertwined. The former is the basis of and the solution to the latter. According to Ibrahim al-Sus, director of the PLO Bureau (ambassador of the newborn state) in France: "The problem is not to know whether Palestine recognizes the Israeli state, but the other way around!" Whereas Abu-Rahmah is betting on the American position, Shanyolu cautions against pinning great hopes on a shift in this position. "The thing that has set American policy apart in the region for the last 10 years is its continuity on two basic mainstays: paying deference to an American Jewish community, twice as large as Israel's population, and looking at the conflict as part of

an East-West strategy and not from its local or even regional premise. Based on this, America sees in Israel a decided strategic ally. That is why I sum up the fixed American position in one phrase: 'No to the Palestinian state.'"

This link between politics and economics is articulated by Sinyurah with a mixture of hope and realism. "We have helped many Arab brothers to build their administrative and economic infrastructure so how about if we have a chance to build our Palestinian state? We have tremendous capabilities, but under occupation it is not possible to have development or to have economic rights."

## EGYPT

### Port Sa'id Faces Economic, Development Troubles

#### Free Zone in Decline

45040127 Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic  
3 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Mahmud Salim]

[Text] Senility has come early, and its signs are evident in all the city streets: major economic stagnation; obstacles hampering the development of Port Said as an industrial area; and even Port Said Airport, which needs only 12 million [Egyptian] pounds, where no planes land or take off. It is an airport with no aircraft!

What happened to make the once-famous city a lifeless corpse?

I put this question to Major General Sami Khudayr, the governor. His answer was tantamount to a plea to officials in Cairo.

The first thing you notice as you walk in the streets of the free trade zone, from the al-Ifranji Quarter to al-Iqtisadi Street, is the great rise in prices of various kinds of goods; the prices have trebled or more. This rise is mainly due to the rise in the exchange rate of the dollar against the Egyptian pound. Consequently, the streets that once were stacked with goods and foodstuffs are no longer that way. Indeed, trade has shrunk, and the annual volume of imports to Port Sa'id is only 180 million pounds.

Consequently, Sami Khudayr, governor of Port Said, and the officials there have begun thinking of something other than trade to help to energize Port Said. Their thinking tended toward tourism and industry. The governor affirms that Port Said cannot continue to rely on commercial activity.

In order for the ideas of the governor and the officials to be realized they must be discussed. Obstacles are hampering developing the city into an industrial area.

This problem is now before Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi to be studied. The officials in Port Said have summed up the case and sent a memo on it to the prime minister during the second week of October. It is now under consideration.

The problem lies in certain interpretations of the customs laws that are causing concern to investors in the free zone.

The customs authority has adopted an interpretation of Article 27 of the 1974 investment law. Under this interpretation customs duties are levied on goods manufactured in the city in three cases, which are:

- Duties are levied in full on a commodity if all its components are foreign made.
- Duties are levied only on the foreign component if the commodity is manufactured with foreign components to which local components of less than 40 percent of the commodity's entire components are added.
- Duties are levied at the rate of 50 percent on the total value of the commodity if it is manufactured with foreign components to which 40 percent or more local components are added. This interpretation applies to commodities and goods regardless of the value of the local component, even if absolutely no foreign components are included.

These are the cases in which customs duties are levied. It is evident, according to Port Said Governor Sami Khudayr—with whose opinion various investors and businessmen in the free city agree—that levying customs duties on the full value of the commodity if it is entirely manufactured of foreign components means subjecting to tariff the efforts of Egyptian workers who contributed to manufacturing and processing raw materials into finished products. This is something which is inconsistent with economic and law concepts.

Moreover, levying a 50-percent customs duty on the value of the commodity if the local components in it exceed 40 percent is a principle that applies to commodities with 100 percent local components. This means levying customs dues on local material, which is inconsistent with sound economic and legal concepts of customs dues.

This interpretation provides for limiting duties to the foreign component only and excludes the Egyptian production components incorporated in the production of the commodity, if these components are less than 40 percent. This means inconsistency and unjustifiable discrimination and is not based on any legal and economic basis, in that the Egyptian component is not customs exempt if it is less than 40 percent. Contrary to that, if the percentage of this component is higher, then customs dues will be levied and even increased.

While these are the customs interpretations, officials in Port Said see a more sound interpretation, namely that it is evident legally and economically, and nobody would disagree, that the local component and the effort made by the Egyptian worker to process raw materials into finished products should not be subject to customs duty. Rather, duty should be limited to the component imported from abroad. This is what the customs interpretations have ignored.

There is no doubt that factories operating in the investment zone in Port Said will suffer and will be hampered if the interpretation adopted by the customs authority is enforced.

This problem is causing concern to all officials in the free zone. Foremost among the problems facing Port Said are those which are hampering the development of the city as an industrial area. With regard to other problems, Maj Gen Sami Khudayr says that the overriding one is the need to develop Port Said airport to receive aircraft. What is required is 12 million pounds, an amount which the governorate cannot afford. It is illogical, he added, to ask the investors, especially foreign investors, to bring their investments to Port Said while it has no airport. The airport, which will serve the investors, would also help imports and exports directly to and from Port Said.

Sami Khudayr says that Port Said must find a place for itself on the world tourist map. This will not happen unless Port Said harbor is developed and the city is granted its due with regard to transit trade.

This, he added, will be achieved only by developing Port Said's economy and industry so that it will not rely solely on trade. Even trade is currently experiencing major stagnation and recession.

#### Officials, Businessmen Try To Counter Falling Dollar

45040127 Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic  
3 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] Discussing the question of money changers in Port Said, Governor Khudayr said that the study on organizing the money changers' operations is not completed yet; it is still under consideration by the Ministry of Economy, the governorate, and the board of administration of the free zone. He said that he had contacts with Minister of Economy Dr Yusri Mustafa, and it was agreed to hold a meeting during the second week of December to air points of view and discuss developments with all the parties.

The Port Said governor said that the intention is to strike a balance between the increasing rise in the dollar rate outside the foreign exchange market—not only in Port Said, but in all the governorates—and the vital interest of Port Said residents who, for their livelihood, depend solely on import activities which do not exceed 180 pounds in value. The meeting, he added, will deal with

all issues in the free zone and city, as well as the activities that come under the Ministry of Economy in Port Said. The meeting will include a number of members of the free zone administration board.

Maj Gen Sami Khudayr said that Port Said merchants fully understand the situation and it is in their interest to lower the dollar exchange rate. He said that he held a meeting with the money changers and stressed to them the need to reduce the current dollar exchange rate they are using in the free market. In fact, the rate of exchange did drop to 244 piasters from 247 piasters a week ago.

He added that as a result of the dialogue between the governorate and the ministry, agreement has been reached that banks should surrender 4 millimes per dollar, to be divided equally between the money changers and the sellers, over and above the posted price in the foreign currency market.

## ISRAEL

### Histadrut Chief Addresses Arab Economic Concerns

44040192 Nazareth AL-SINNARAH in Arabic  
23 Dec 88 pp 4-5

[Interview with Yisra'el Qeysar by Lutfi Mash'ur; place and date unspecified]

[Text] The General Workers Federation [Histadrut] in the country and various commercial institutions subordinate to it, such as Koor Industries and the Kupat Holim health insurance fund and the hospitals subordinate to it, are experiencing an unprecedented administrative and organizational revolution. Yisra'el Qeysar, the General Secretary of the Histadrut, embarked on this very important revolution a number of months ago in the light of new developments in the Israeli economy and in daily life.

AL-SINNARAH conducted this special interview with Qeysar regarding these radical, even revolutionary changes, which are essentially creating a new economic and social situation in the country, especially since the factories of the Workers' Company [the Histadrut's Hevrat Ha'ovdim] constitute ¼ of the economy of the country, and employ approximately a quarter of a million workers who support approximately one million citizens, in addition to the fact that the Histadrut has numerous other institutions.

Those present at the interview included Qeysar, the editor of AL-SINNARAH, Lutfi Mash'ur, the Histadrut spokesman, Mr Solar, and Qeysar's advisor on Arab affairs Shmu'el Hakham.

[AL-SINNARAH] You have formulated a plan for new policies and reforms; can it be said that they are revolutionary, can you summarize them for us?

[Qeysar] Following radical and acute developments experienced by the country's economy, it became necessary to make radical changes in the structure of the Histadrut and its different institutions. We have formulated a number of measures and programs to confront the new reality.

The most important of them is the "new step," which pertains to a new economic orientation whose pivot is administrative responsibility in the factories of the Workers' Company (Hevrat Ha'ovdim). It should be noted that all of the programs have been approved in the executive institutions of the Histadrut and the Workers' Company itself.

Very briefly, the "new step" is based on moving from a concept of centralized administration of the Histadrut to a structure in which authorities and responsibilities are distributed among Histadrut institutions. The objective in doing this is to restore the place of Histadrut factories in the economy, and to create a healthy system in order to provide better and more useful services, and thus produce effects which benefit the totality of Histadrut work. I would like to say that the severe circumstances being experienced by Histadrut institutions are no different from those being suffered by other economic institutions in the country. I would also like to add that this crisis began in 1977 as a result of the policy of the Likud government, which affected all production sectors in the state. Therefore, the objective is to change work and administrative methods and administrative teams which have not proven themselves. We have begun to turn over authorities and responsibilities to the factories themselves, to their directors and workers. This is also the case in other institutions such as Kupat Holim and the hospitals subordinate to it. Of course, these changes have not affected all Histadrut institutions.

Therefore, everyone in the factories and institutions has become responsible. Responsibility is no longer centralized or all-encompassing.

As far as the workers are concerned, they are contributing to the administration of the factories by purchasing shares, and thereby receiving a share of the profits as well.

Regarding Kupat Holim, last September, we began to institute gradual autonomy in the hospitals and districts. One of the first signs of this change pertains to appointments; in other words, a sick person does not have to wait to be seen by a physician, but can arrange a specific appointment and select a physician. This also means that the physician must make an effort, because he receives recompense for meeting with a number of sick people who request treatment from him. This is the model for improving services and making them benefit the citizen.

In relation to the Histadrut sick fund, 83 percent of the citizens of the country are covered by it!

[AL-SINNARAH] Do the reforms include organizational and economic institutions as well?

[Qeysar] Naturally, they also include organizational institutions. For example, local councils are being established side by side with the workers councils, of which there are 72 throughout the country. Half of the members of the local committees are representatives of the workers, who are elected by secret ballot. Thus, they are direct representatives. Likewise, according to the new plan, the employees and workers committees cannot announce a strike without consulting employers. Thus, we will change the method of election to the workers councils.

[AL-SINNARAH] What is the situation of the workers councils in the Arab sphere?

[Qeysar] We are giving the Arab sphere special attention. There are institutions in the Arab sphere, such as Kupat Holim, in which reforms are being introduced automatically. But there is special concern, for example, for the workers councils. We have begun to form regional workers committees with the goal of transforming them into workers councils. There are also serious efforts to develop networks of clubs. As a matter of fact, brother Nawwaf Musaliyah and brother Yusuf Qara recently travelled abroad to collect funds to open industrial clubs and schools in the Arab sphere. Likewise, through representatives of the Arab sphere in the Histadrut, we have begun to collect contributions from institutions and individuals in America and Europe.

[AL-SINNARAH] Could you summarize the concept of the "new step."

[Qeysar] This is the economic, social, organizational and conceptual phase, which will in time include all sectors of the Histadrut.

The goal of this phase is to adapt ourselves, work energetically, and continue to develop amid changing and variable circumstances not only in the country, but in the entire world. I do not wish to reiterate to you what the country and the world have experienced in the way of monetary inflation, funding problems, the freezing of the exchange rate of the dollar that affected exports and other problems and crises.

[AL-SINNARAH] Does this apply to organizational structures?

[Qeysar] There are reforms in every area. For example, we gave enormous authorities to the public complaints representative; the Histadrut inspector can currently punish officials in the Histadrut and other Histadrut members. The Histadrut is currently in a very dynamic phase. Tens of changes are taking place, constituting a comprehensive revolution in all areas for the good of all Histadrut members and citizens and the economy of the country.

[AL-SINNARAH] What about the "economic development start" fund?

[Qeysar] We have begun to apply this very important program, which has recorded great success. This fund was established in order to support factories in the country, regardless of whether they are Histadrut or private factories. The idea behind the fund is that the workers in a factory contribute three days off every 18 months in order to create work places for the unemployed, especially in sensitive areas. In the course of two years, we have created 2,000 new work places in 63 factories, most of which are non-Histadrut, private factories. Therefore, the fund aids factories in developing and creating work places. Every factory, workshop or place of employment can join the fund. Numerous factories in the Arab sphere have joined. Of course, for every shekel, we add another shekel, and we advance subsidized loans for investment. This is what we call mutual help.

[AL-SINNARAH] Let us move to the subject of unemployment. The Arab sphere, especially Nazareth, is suffering very much.

[Qeysar] Unemployment is arousing much concern. An unemployment rate of 8-9 percent is a frightening matter, and we are working to find solutions. In relation to the Arab sphere, we have had numerous contacts, the last of which concerned the possibility of employing Arab university graduates in areas such as education, Arabic language instruction and in other areas in Jewish schools. There is a need for local initiative to create work places, and we can and want to help and encourage every initiative.

The problem is very severe. We will not cease in our efforts to combat unemployment. I am personally very concerned and am searching for solutions.

[AL-SINNARAH] Regarding the increased incorporation of Arabs in the Histadrut?

[Qeysar] We have worked on the problem of incorporation in recent months, and we have introduced a number of Arab officials into Histadrut institutions. Kupat Holim and the hospitals have absorbed a large number of physicians and officials into the administration of Kupat Holim, such as Dr Ramzi Khuri. We are currently searching for an Arab candidate to be appointed to the Administrative Council of Kupat Holim. Recently, Ibrahim al-Amur, from Kasifah was appointed as an advisor for bedouin affairs.

[AL-SINNARAH] And your advisor for Arab affairs?

[Qeysar] Several months ago, brother Shmu'el Hakham was appointed as my advisor for Arab affairs. Since receiving his appointment, he has been working to

develop services and to improve conditions in the Arab sphere. The fruits of his labors will become evident in various areas in the Histadrut and its institutions.

[AL-SINNARAH] What about the "open day?"

[Qeysar] The open day has been a tradition for years. During this day, delegations from different parts of the country, including delegations from the Arab sphere, visit us. This year in particular, we enjoyed the favor of a friendly visit from Muslim clerics, headed by His Eminence, Judge 'Asliyah and Shaykh al-Dasuqi. I was very pleased and honored by this visit.

These visits eloquently express the Jewish-Arab partnership, and the possibilities and necessities of a shared life and cooperation. The Histadrut has a significant and continuing role in this area.

We have established cultural, pedagogical centers at al-Jash, and we will establish a large center at Rahat in addition to (workers') schools in the Arab sphere, and we will increase these institutions.

We view these activities and economic activities as excellent means by which to support brotherly and fruitful co-existence.

We are striving basically to achieve equality between Arabs and Jews in all fields of our activity.

[AL-SINNARAH] What about the situation of the Koor factories?

[Qeysar] The situation is acute. A comprehensive salvation plan has been prepared (he shows me a large book which contains the plan). The situation is acute. The program will be accompanied by dismissals, pain, tears, sweat and problems. But that is inevitable.

[AL-SINNARAH] What about elections to the Histadrut. Will they be held at the scheduled time?

[Qeysar] I cannot respond. The constitution stipulates that elections be announced 90 days before they occur. We still have time. From the standpoint of the constitution, we have the right to defer elections for six months. We have not yet decided!

In addition, it should be noted that the Central Committee of the Histadrut has issued a special announcement in which it condemns the burning of the mosque in Ibthan. Qeysar stated in the announcement that he views this act as a great danger, and he beseeches the police to arrest the criminals and bring them to trial.

The Histadrut has also expressed its solidarity with the Armenian people, and Qeysar sent a cable in this connection. He also announced that Kurat Holim and the Histadrut are participating in the dispatch of medical and other supplies.

## JORDAN

**Oil Find Near Dead Sea Discussed**  
*44040242 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic*  
*31 Jan 89 p 2*

[Text] Amman—Kamal Juraysat, chairman of the Natural Resources Authority, said that oil was found in small quantities in the Dead Sea area at a shallow depth of 200 meters. Results of the find augur well. Other quantities were also found in Wadi al-Sarhan on the Jordanian-Saudi border.

Jordan, he added, is still new in the field of oil prospecting, and, despite its large area, only 55 wells have been drilled.

In a statement which AL-DUSTUR today published jointly with the Saudi newspaper AL-JAZIRAH, whose correspondent in Amman Muhammad al-Majali held the interview, Juraysat said that the authority intends to build a gas-operated power station in view of the discovery of 30 million cubic meters of gas. The projected station will meet 12 percent of Jordan's electric power needs.

Juraysat said that the government has decided to stop the planned expansion of the al-'Aqabah thermal power station the costs of which were estimated at \$250 million.

He also announced that the authority will organize a conference in Canada during the first quarter of this year in order to invite companies to search for oil in Jordan. He pointed out that Japanese, Canadian, and American companies are currently searching for oil in Jordan.

He said that the next stage will involve oil exploration in the areas between Ma'in and Amman and points to the north, as well as areas bordering Saudi Arabia.

He said that the authority will continue its efforts to drill wells up to 5 km deep and that he hopes that they achieve positive results.

On the other hand, Juraysat revealed a Jordanian-European cooperation in exploration for precious metals. The authority, in cooperation with the EEC, will launch an exploration project during the coming months.

Juraysat said that the authority, in cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency, at the end of last year began exploring for uranium in the southern and western parts of the kingdom at the end of last year. He added that the project will last 5 years. He stressed that there are positive signs that radioactive materials (uranium and thorium) exist in these areas.

He also said that the authority is planning to exploit the natural resources that have not yet been exploited so far, to include such nonprecious metals as feldspar which is used in the manufacture of glass and ceramics.

Juraysat estimated the quantities of feldspar available in Jordan at 80 million tons.

With regard to exploitation of the Dead Sea minerals, Juraysat said that an industrial chemical complex was recently established in the Dead Sea area in which salt deposits are estimated at 43 billion tons. A national company has been established which is headed by the minister of industry and consists of a number of government ministers and company directors from the Royal Scientific Society, the Social Insurance Institute, the Arab Potash Company, and the Jordanian Phosphate Company. The company is now conducting an economic feasibility study of the projects to be implemented.

With regard to the exploitation of shale oil in Jordan, the deposits of which are estimated to be approximately 40 billion tons, the chairman of the Natural Resources Authority said that studies are being carried out to launch a pioneering distillation project (a trial station) in the al-Lajjun area and a power generating station in the al-Sultanah area.

The authority, he said, is continuing its efforts to exploit this material through two methods, namely distillation and the burning of shale rocks for electric power production.

It has been noted that oil was discovered in Jordan in the mid-eighties, but in small quantities, whereas the Hamzah well now produces 500 to 700 barrels per day.

## LEBANON

### Fadlallah Reviews Political Situation *44040234 Beirut AL-AHD in Arabic 20 Jan 89 p 3*

[Interview with His Eminence Ayatollah Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah; date and place not specified]

[Text] His Eminence Ayatollah Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah affirmed that the backward vilification campaign against him was an expression of the mentality of those who had launched it. He noted that the campaign was part of an intelligence game that was being played against him.

Ayatollah Fadlallah thought that Arab rulers had started the process of liquidating anti-Israeli, anti-American and anti-colonial movements in their countries and that they did so for the sake of their regimes.

He indicated that Muslims were the prime targets of this process whose purpose was to clear the scene from any opposition to American policy in the region.

He said, "We are expecting major events. What is happening now involves changing alliances and confusing the issues. It is turning patriots into traitors and traitors into patriots of the highest order."

Fadlallah affirmed that Arabs were no longer considering war with Israel. He said Arabs were dealing with the Lebanese problem only with an eye to their own interests and their bilateral and trilateral relations.

His Eminence al-Shaykh Fadlallah made those statements in his weekly interview, a transcript of which follows.

[AL-AHD] It has been noticed that recently, you have been targeted personally by many positions. What do you have to say about that?

[Fadlallah] What I have to say on that subject, first of all, is what God Almighty said, "Show forgiveness, speak for justice, and avoid the ignorant" [al-A'raf: 199]. "...Those who...say: 'Peace!' to the ignorant who accost them" [al-Furqan: 63]. Second, ever since this campaign with its backward methods and its policy of abuse and vilification was started and pursued in a manner that exemplified the mentality of its perpetrators, I have been watching for signs of an American-Israeli plan. Lebanese intelligence, which has become associated with this plan, has been working against me for some time. Lebanese intelligence, which is still working against me, has been trying to harm my positions and my image because I did not give in to what others wanted. Intelligence is working against me because I would not go with the flow. But this is the price which must be paid in decisive situations when one takes a stand for Islam and for the oppressed. I do understand, therefore, that this is part of the intelligence game which is being played in more than one location.

### Arabs No Longer Considering War

[AL-AHD] Is it correct to say that the entire area is moving closer to a peaceful settlement with Israel and that those who oppose that trend have to go with the flow?

[Fadlallah] A person who has been watching events might feel that the approach which is committed to the objective of reconciliation with Israel was vigorously pursued before the policy of international detente got underway and imposed its own method of either defusing regional and international problems or trying to find solutions for them. This is because all countries and political parties in the Arab center have been associated in one way or another with the American approach which places the Israeli problem at the top of its interests in all its political relations with the region and with those parts of the world which have ties to the region.

That is why the American approach was applying pressure to steer the political situation in the region toward that objective. The American approach was blocking the PLO so it could steer it in that direction. This was done by setting conditions for the PLO, which the organization accepted recently when it recognized Israel. It was also done by getting the Arab political reality to work with the organization, suggesting to it that unless it gives in to the United States and to Israel, it will be expelled from the Arab political scene or to be kept politically frozen. That is why the situation in the Arab world has been ready for any peaceful settlement on this matter since the Arabs decisively closed the chapter on fighting a war with Israel. Now, those who call for war with Israel, even in the future, are considered radicals, terrorists, and unrealistic, and other such words are used to describe them.

It seems to me, therefore, that this matter took on the major significance and the broader circle it acquired in Arab politics in the wake of international detente. The political activity which has been trying to terminate all the pockets that are holding to their decisive position on Israel is still going on. Efforts are being made to break out of the siege of present [restrictions] and look ahead to the future when Arab countries, with ties to America and to others, will have nothing to fear from any reactions to any concessions that are made to Israel. The undercurrents of the international political game, whether they are American or European, are such that we know there can be no settlement unless concessions are offered by one of the parties involved, the Arab-Palestinian party. This is because Americans as well as Europeans do not wish to force Israel to make any concessions for the sake of a settlement to the Palestinian problem because everyone is concerned about a solution to the Israeli problem, not the Palestinian one.

It seems to me, therefore, that the Arab political environment within each regime, whether national or within political parties, is such that people are working very quickly to achieve reconciliation. The problem, however, is this: What does Israel want, and what does America want? And that is why everyone who is trying to find a way to a settlement can be brought to a standstill. While waiting to find out what others want, everyone would experience the pan-Arab and national lassitude and the breathlessness of running around in circles. After all, the Arabs have already decided on what they want. They want Israel to accept them, and they want Israel to accept their peace offer. Now, however, the issue is not what the Arabs want in their reconciliation with Israel, but it is what Israel wants from its reconciliation with the Arabs. Since Israel can expand further and can maneuver more in the international game, it does not have to be predisposed to a reconciliation with the Arabs. And that is why it is the Israeli decision, not the Arab decision, that we wait for.

#### Liquidating Revolutionary Movements

[AL-'AHD] But it has been noticed that at this stage the Israeli decision is inclined to accept some of the issues

which have been set forth. Does this mean that the dangers of liquidating all anti-Israeli movements in the region remain in effect for the Arabs?

[Fadlallah] What we have been noticing is that many Arab rulers started liquidating anti-Israeli, anti-American, and especially anti-colonial movements to preserve their regimes in their countries. They did that when they started following the American approach and started working with America to set up the power of the new colonialism in their countries and in other countries as well. Many of these Arab leaders are also trying to move toward the liquidation of these revolutionary positions, especially Islamic ones. They are even trying to liquidate those positions which are not in their countries.

We know that many of the Arab countries which have a lot of money finance most of the assassination operations and most of the operations which are conducted by non-Arab regimes to besiege and oppress Muslims and all revolutionaries who reject American, colonialist policy. Even when assistance is offered to some poor, Arab or Islamic countries, there are strings attached. It is implied that these countries have to liquidate Islamic movements as well as the Islamic opposition in the country, even if that opposition were not an opposition movement in the accepted sense of the term. Thus, there would be no opposition at all to the general approach pursued by American policy in the region.

#### Presidential Elections

[AL-'AHD] It has been affirmed recently that Lebanon is on the verge of holding its presidential elections in June, and it is also being affirmed that these elections will be held even without reforms. Do you think that the conflicts which are going on in Lebanon are the prelude which could be extended to achieve that outcome?

[Fadlallah] It seems to me that the elections will be held sooner or later. This is one of the things that all those who are responsible for the civil strife in Lebanon want. To these people, Lebanon remains something they need in a negative or a positive sense. What is noticeable, however, is that the title of president is starting to carry many other political implications to more than one local, regional, or international party. In the absence of any other means for applying pressure, such as security infractions which are prohibited throughout Lebanon by the two major feuding parties, the title is being used as a pressure tool. That is why this issue is now being set forth so that it can be used to get many plans through or bring them to maturity and to liquidate or besiege many pockets [of resistance]. This means that the matter will have to wait for a long time since everyone was taken by surprise or had planned on the possibility that Lebanon could survive for a long time without a president and without unified authorities. The hardships endured by Lebanese citizens as a result of that are quite similar to those which they endured when they had unified authorities and a president. However, they were affected by

these hardships in different ways. It seems to me, therefore, that no one on the local, regional, or international level is in a hurry. Evidence for this lies in the fact that the meeting between Arab ministers of foreign affairs and the Lebanese has been postponed to the end of this month. Such delays may go on for a long time just as they did with Arab committees of the past. This is because when Arabs deal with the Lebanese problem, they do so with an eye to their interests in Lebanon and their bilateral or trilateral relations which link them to each other. They deal with the Lebanese problem with an eye to their relations with the international community which is interested in Lebanon. That is why this problem is not an Arab problem in the national sense of the word, but it is an Arab problem in the sense of bilateral relations or Arab-international relations. It seems to me, therefore—and I do not wish to rush into any conclusions—that this represents a waste of time. It is something to keep the Lebanese from becoming frustrated. Should they lose the proper solution, they will not lose hope in the future, which everyone is trying to hold on to whenever it seems to be out of reach every now and then.

#### The Forces and Future Alliances

[AL-'AHD] It has been noticed that the opposing forces in Lebanon are now being targeted by everybody else. Can these forces effect a change in alliances in the future?

[Fadlallah] Lebanon is a country of quicksand in which everyone sinks no matter how hard he tries to get his feet on solid ground. That is why we noticed that since before the civil strife and even to this day, many issues have been confused and many alliances have been shifted. There are no constant positions in politics. In fact, these positions shift according to the nature of objective circumstances which are determined by events.

It seems to us, therefore, that the nature of the new variables on the international scene and the nature of activities on the Arab scene, on the Middle Eastern scene, or on the Lebanese scene will shuffle some papers [situations] and will reduce the size of some situations because this matter has to do with decisive moments in some plans and some relationships. And that is why we have to expect many events. To us, such events will be on a par with those whose pain and tragedies we are experiencing. To others, they will be a local matter whose tragedy and pain they can contemplate. In essence, however, what is happening in the region is that alliances are being shifted, and issues are being confused. And that is something which turns patriots into traitors and traitors into patriots of the highest order.

#### SAUDI ARABIA

##### Text of Royal Decree on New Fiscal Budget 44040215 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 8 Jan 89 p 10

[Text] The Saudi Council of Ministers last week approved Saudi Arabia's fiscal budget for 1989-90. The Saudi government authorized the Ministry of Finance

and National Economy to borrow an amount not to exceed SR250 billion during the year by gradually issuing treasury bonds of different terms in Saudi riyals.

It should be noted that the Saudi budget has in general been subject to a decline in revenues due to the sharp decline in oil prices on oil markets during the previous 2 years.

King Fahd, in a brief speech delivered at the meeting of the Saudi Council of Ministers, emphasized that "in order for citizens to live prosperously, the state finds itself on many occasions compelled to defray the budget deficit, regardless of its size, or whether it is from the previous year or the current year. This deficit, as we know, is due to problems related to oil sales, and the decline in oil prices that has been on-going for almost 4 years."

Following is the text of the Royal Saudi decree approving the budget:

I. a. State revenues for fiscal year 1409-1410 A.H. are estimated at SR116 billion.

b. Allocations for state expenditures in fiscal year 1409-1410 A.H. total SR141 billion.

II. For the purpose of increasing general state budgetary resources to cover the costs of development funded in the budget, the Ministry of Finance and National Economy is compelled to borrow an amount not to exceed SR25 billion during fiscal year 1409-1410 A.H.. This is to be done gradually over the course of the year through the issuance of treasury bonds of different terms, in Saudi riyals.

III. Revenues will be received in full according to financial regulations; all of them will be paid to the Arab Saudi Monetary Institution and its branches, to the account of the Ministry of Finance and National Economy.

IV. Expenditures are to be made according to the budget and instructions pertaining to it.

V. a. The transfer of allocations in the chapters, sections, and subsections of the budget is to occur by the decision of the chairman of the Council of Ministers based on a joint decision by the pertinent minister or the chief of the administration with an independent budget and the minister of finance and national economy.

b. Transfers between the paragraphs of subsections 1 and 2 are to be effected by the decision of the pertinent minister or the chief of the administration with an independent budget, provided that the transfer to any paragraph does not exceed half of the original allocation earmarked in the budget for that paragraph, excluding

paragraphs pertaining to wages, from which it is not permitted to transfer except in accordance with the previous article of this stipulation.

VI. It is not permitted to use an allocation for purposes other than those for which it is earmarked, or to issue an order to spend in excess of an allocation, or to make any expenditure not allocated in the budget.

VII. It is not permitted to issue any order or conclude any agreement which would result in an obligation in the coming financial year, with the exception of the following:

a. Agreements entailing continuous or periodic implementation, such as agreements pertaining to leases, labor, services, food imports, and consulting services, for which allocations are usually earmarked repeatedly every year.

b. Import agreements whose costs are allocated in the second subsection, provided that the value of the agreement does not exceed the amount allocated during the current fiscal year, that it not be linked to the allocated amount and that no transfers are made from it within the limits of the value of the agreement, and that the implementation period of the agreement not go beyond the end of the following fiscal year.

c. Agreements pertaining to projects which cannot be divided [over several years], provided that the commitment [irtibat?] is fulfilled within the limits of the allocated costs in every project.

VIII. If, during the current fiscal year, it appears that there are amounts which were committed in previous years in excess of the designated allocation, the matter must be presented to the Council of Ministers if the excess is the result of unjustified spending; permission is granted to the minister of finance and national economy to disburse these amounts from the allocations of the current fiscal year.

IX. It is absolutely not permitted to appoint or promote officials and employees unless such appointments and promotions are made to positions allocated in this budget, in accordance with the conditions and situations clarified in regulations in effect.

X. Except for the appointment of ministers, it is not permitted during fiscal year 1409-1410 A.H. to establish new positions or salaries unless there are allocations for them in this budget; this does not apply to positions created according to stipulations contained in regulations pertaining to temporary employees. It is not permitted to raise salaries allocated in this budget; however, it is permitted to lower them by decision of the chief of

the General Civil Service Bureau based on the recommendation of a committee composed of representatives from the Ministry of Finance and National Economy, the General Civil Service Bureau and the pertinent agency.

XI. Administrative formations of each agency are to be funded according to what is promulgated by the general budget, and it is not permitted to change them except by decision of the High Committee for Administrative Reform. It is permitted to depict the designations of positions according to the requirements of the job classification rules by decision of the chief of the General Civil Service Bureau based on the recommendation of a committee composed of representatives from the Ministry of Finance and National Economy, the General Civil Service Bureau and the pertinent agency.

XII. The minister of finance and national economy issues the necessary instructions to implement this budget within the limits of the principles stipulated in this decree.

XIII. His excellency, the deputy chairman of the council of ministers, and the ministers, each according to his purview, must implement this decree.

## SUDAN

### Conference Explores Political Role of Unions Versus Parties

45040205B Khartoum *AL-RAYAH* in Arabic  
21 Jan 89 p 4

[By Abu-Bakr al-Siddiq Muhammad al-Amin]

[Excerpts] At a time when the threat of strikes, which are becoming more intense, is clouding the country's skies and union pressures, which are becoming more political, are threatening the country's political, social and economic stability and posing grave dangers to them, the People's Union Solidarity [Organization] organized an important conference last Tuesday on collective action and national issues. Many union members and academicians participated in the conference. They contributed their opinions to show the various aspects of the question, and they offered many useful suggestions. We offer here a full review of this significant conference. [passage omitted]

Dr al-Sa'uri, political science professor at the Islamic University of Umdurman and member of the People's Union Solidarity executive committee, explains the reason why unions continued to follow that same political approach in Third World countries even after those countries won their independence. "Although these countries were being run by their own citizens, relationships between unions and power remained unchanged."

### No Distinctions Made between Stages

"The first reason why these relations remained unchanged is that during the liberation period unions did not see the difference between the stage of liberation and that of construction. Nor did unions get an opportunity to learn about the union traditions which are prevalent in advanced countries. They did not learn about the principle of give and take. In other words, they did not get to learn that any increase in salaries had to be met by an increase in production. That practice was not introduced in Sudan, and that is why unions continued to play a political role."

"On the other hand, the political parties which had been organized during the struggle for liberation were weak and unable to express and represent the aspirations of the nation's various groups. Political parties which were in power were not able to translate the people's aspirations into programs and plans, and opposition parties were not able to come up with alternatives that were ready for implementation to meet those aspirations. That is why unions found themselves playing a political role even under a national government."

"Furthermore, political leaders themselves made no distinctions between the stage of liberation and that of construction. Consequently, they were not able to let people see the difference between the two and steer the people's energies toward construction. That was the time when politicians had an opportunity to plant the seed for the principle of give and take. Unfortunately, however, they did not. In addition, the unions found that declaring a strike, something which basically started as a political action against colonialism, like the railroad workers' strike in Sudan, was an effective tool they could use to impose their wishes on governments which were basically failing to have a sense of the issues that concern different groups of people."

### Participation in the October and Rajab Regimes

Dr al-Sa'uri mentioned two other reasons peculiar to the trade union movement in Sudan which made unions in Sudan become more involved in politics than their counterparts in other similar countries. These two reasons are:

- Ever since the Conference for Graduates, the birth of the National Movement in Sudan has been associated with classes and unions more than it has been associated with sects and political parties.
- Unions were actively involved in the October and Rajab revolutions. Had it not been for the unions, the two revolutions would not have succeeded. That gave the unions a firm grip on politics in Sudan.

Dr al-Sa'uri concludes his remarks by calling upon the unions to take note of the fact that they are now key players in the stage of construction. "This means they have to do their part in improving performance. It

means they must not restrict their demands to calling for improvements in financial conditions for their members or for a direct political role. Instead, they must play a political role in a specialized sense: they must express their opinion and do their part in developing the profession they represent. Unions cannot go on making demands without giving something in return. A labor union cannot demand an increase in the minimum wage without asking its workers to do more. Now that the minimum wage has been raised retroactively, will the same negligence and decline in production be allowed to continue? I believe that if the situation which exists now continues, with the unions taking and taking the time will come, as we've seen recently, when they will not find anything to take."

Mr Muhammad Husayn Sharif, a union official who held different positions in the union, including that of president and secretary of the Motorized Transportation Workers' Union, was the second speaker to address the conference. What he said was based on his rich experience in the union. Mr Sharif spoke about the damage which will come to the union movement as a result of its involvement in politics.

### The National Movement's Twin

Mr Muhammad Husayn Sharif affirms that Sudan's trade union movement is a nationalist movement which is associated with its twin movement, the national movement. "No political party can take credit for establishing the trade union movement because it predates all political parties. Also, the trade union movement is not the movement of a specific class of people working against the remaining classes." Mr Sharif examines the historical roots of attempts that were made by political parties in Sudan to contain unions. He thinks that such attempts emerged when colonialists were on the verge of leaving the country. Political parties were trying to gather their ranks together in preparation for the next stage. At that time the idea of a trade union was brought up by some political forces who saw trade unions as representing something that people can believe in. Later, however, it turned out that this had been a ruse to keep national forces out of the unions. The National Movement actually stayed away from the unions, leaving that field wide open to leftist forces. But the trade union movement took note of that fact and organized itself to oppose the leftists' plan. At that time labor unions made up the bulk of the trade union movement because the movement for a civil servants' union was still in its inception.

### Examples of Political Involvement

Mr Muhammad Husayn Sharif continues his presentation until he comes to the October Revolution, when the unions' involvement in political activity became quite clear. Unions were represented in the first government of the October regime, and the left had a plan in which the

unions would become alternatives to political parties and the government would stay in power without elections. Popular awareness, however, foiled that conspiracy.

"One of the prominent examples of the unions' involvement in political activity can be seen in the position of the labor union, which was controlled by the left in 1968, on what came to be known as al-Sharif al-Hindi's cadre. This had to do with salary increases, as is the case now. But the labor union, acting on the basis of the party's interests, called upon workers not to accept the increases which it described as a political bribe. The workers, however, did not go along with their leaders, and they took to the streets to support the increases. Thus, the union's leaders had to retract the position which they had announced." Mr Sharif thinks that the difference between a union and a party may be summarized this way: "The word 'party', as soon as it is mentioned, suggests differences of opinions and positions, but the word 'union', combines [the notion of] unity. That is, demands bring people together, but politics separates them. Also, unions do not have long-term political strategies, unlike political parties, which do. Furthermore, a union represents all its members with their different political affiliations."

Mr Sharif enumerated the damages which can result from the unions' involvement in political activity. He thinks such involvement infringes upon political parties, governments and social relations. "Ultimately, it also affects production.

"Unions are the first to be hurt by their involvement in political activity because such involvement divides the membership. When politics is brought up, every person will go back to his party and ties between union members are thus broken.

"Political parties do, of course, have the right to recruit union members as individuals, but recruiting union officials is a threat to the trade union movement. It also reflects the weakness of political parties and their inability to work the masses."

#### Trade Unions and Embassies

"On the other hand, the unions' involvement in political activity makes them the target of efforts made by outsiders to polarize them. Unions have become an influential force that can shift the balance of power in the country. That makes them targets for pursuit by outside forces just as much as they are targets for pursuit by political parties. For the first time, recently we've seen foreign ambassadors get in touch with union officials and visit them in their homes. This is the result of the fact that unions are being courted and pursued by parties, especially leftist parties, which want to use the unions to achieve power.

"In addition, unity within the unions will not be achieved as long as they continue to be involved in political activities." The former president of the Motorized Transportation Workers' Union calls attention to an important point: union laws are weak. "The law gives the union movement unlimited rights, but it does not obligate it to do anything. From my point of view as a union official, this, of course, is a victory for the unions. But I think that we have to have controls for this matter. Unions question others but are not questioned by anyone. Many strikes are declared in Sudan, and they are declared for the most trivial reasons. If there is a lack of sympathy between the director of some organization and a union, a strike is declared. That costs the country a great deal. Most of these strikes violate the law and skip the stages [which unions must go through to resolve disputes].

"In Britain, unions representing people who are employed in the service professions, like physicians and people employed in delivering water and electricity, are prohibited by law from striking. We must enact similar laws in Sudan. Also, in Sudan workers declare a strike which lasts for 10 or 20 days, but they do not lose a single millieme in wages. That is a situation the likes of which can be found nowhere else in the world."

Union official Muhammad Husayn Sharif concluded his remarks by calling for the social contract which the prime minister had spoken of many times. He expects such a contract to regulate relations between the unions and government. "Some kind of mechanism must also be established to measure wages and compare them with market prices. In Sudan, wages were reviewed at distant intervals. Such a mechanism must be established so that wages can be increased without confrontations whenever an increase is warranted." [passage omitted]

Mr 'Abbas Hasan al-Tum, secretary general of the General Union of Postal and Telecommunications Workers, criticized the conduct of many unions which resort to declaring a strike without going through the stages stipulated by the Industrial Relations Act to resolve a dispute that may occur between employer and employee. These stages follow this sequence: negotiations, investigation, arbitration, and then, finally, a strike. He said that, as a union official, he did not understand how a union would declare a strike for 1 week or 10 days. He said that a strike is called to declare a position or call attention to an issue, and a 1-day or a 3-day strike at the most would be enough to do that. Striking for a longer period of time, however, is meant to be destructive. Mr al-Tum also criticized working full-time for a union. He said that has become the right of anyone who joins a union, regardless of his responsibilities. He called for restrictions and limitations on this practice.

Dr Nafi 'Ali Nafi' of Khartoum University was one of the participants in the discussion. He said that calling for the unions not to become involved in political activity did not mean isolating the unions from the country's

general issues. "Unions must say what they think about major national issues, but they must not be turned into tools that political parties, which failed to come to power by democratic methods, can use to implement their political plans. We reject that." As an example, Dr Nafi' cited the call for a political strike which was adopted by some unions recently and linked to a few issues which are being disputed: for example, the agreement between al-Mirghani and Garang; the call to reject Islamic laws; and the statement made by Mr Sayyid Ahmad al-Husayn, who said that unions would be willing to call off their strikes if the agreement between al-Mirghani and Garang were accepted.

Dr Nafi' said that unions lose people's sympathy with their demands when they become involved in political activity. "This is what is happening now. Some unions started examining the new salary scale to find any loophole they can use to declare a strike. Unions started doing that after the action they took recently to overthrow the democratic regime failed."

Dr Nafi' added that the only way to restore union activity to its proper place is to remove the left from the union because it is using unions to serve its own political objectives. He indicated that unions should not be making choices on a political basis. "If that had been the case, the left, which could not score any victory to speak of in the general elections, would not have gained control over so many unions." Dr Nafi' concluded his discussion by calling upon the union movement to contribute its opinion on two issues: the economic crisis and foreign intervention.

Ahmad Sulayman, a union official and a general member, called for the wage scale to be linked to production, not to the market. At the same time, Dr Sulayman Muhammad Sa'id of the Ministry of Agriculture warned against covering up political demands with union demands.

Mr Fath-al-Rahman al-Fadilabi indicated that involving unions in political activity was one of the benefits of a system that wants to include everyone and assure itself of the loyalty of all individuals and mechanisms. 'Abd-al-Mun'im Hasaballah, of Khartoum University's Student Union, said that the absence of a steady course for successive governments is what makes it possible for the unions to interfere in political matters.

**Writer Exonerates Egyptian, DUP Ties**  
45040205A Khartoum *AL-RAYAH* in Arabic  
21 Jan 89 p 8

[By Attorney Ahmad Sulayman] txt  
[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Poor visibility is the reason that kept me from writing my observations on what is happening on the domestic policy scene. It is difficult to see where we're going, and that is why one must watch one's step until the dust settles and tranquility is restored in the wake of the storm which the Democratic Unionist Party [DUP] created when it voluntarily left the cabinet. At that time I compared that storm to a demonic storm. We hope the party will not become lost in this storm, and we hope it will not regret its decision.

The leadership of the Islamic Front had issued instructions to its newspaper, *AL-RAYAH*, to tone down its vehement hostility towards the DUP and not to go too far in expressing that hostility. When the front made that decision and when I make the announcement about it, we do not do so to be kind or obliging to the party. We know that not all the party's writers are kindhearted. Nor are they merciful with their enemies when those enemies disparage them: they can dish out as much pain as they and theirs receive. They meet mischief with mischief and may even return more mischief than they received, thereby harming the innocent even before affecting the mischief makers. While every person who is under some obligation to the party shows deference to it, we do not flee from battles which are fought on the pages of the DUP's proliferating newspapers. Some of these newspapers just sprang to life like wild plants, and some of them changed course unexpectedly. At any rate, we know where their finances come from. These newspapers have no qualms about printing impudent and slanderous remarks. In fact, some of them, according to al-Hasan Ibn Hani', "employ writers who are adulterers and thieves." But we are motivated to tone down our vehement hostility to the DUP out of our concern for unity in our ranks and actions. We want our people, who are beset by dangers, to be of one mind. Opponents and enemies are banding together against our people as wild animals band together to catch their prey. This is something which has not gone unnoticed by leaders of a party whose past and history are as glorious and as time-honored as the past and history of the DUP.

It is self-evident that we may not and should not refuse to take responsibility for our mistakes. Nor may we blame other political parties, especially the DUP, for our mistakes just because it may have initiated hostilities against us. We all make mistakes. Any scholar can make a mistake, and any horse can stumble, even if it were one of Sulayman's sure-footed horses.

But the matter which truly puzzles us and is becoming the baffling mystery which gatherings and clubs in the capital are unsuccessfully trying to resolve is one that has to do with determining the factors and explaining the motives which led the party's leaders to abandon ship and pull themselves voluntarily and unexpectedly out of government. It is surprising that these leaders, who are experienced government officials and who understand their party's social makeup and the class makeup, should walk away from government. These people know more than others how much real influence they continued to have in the unification government. They know how close the ties between them and Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi have been. And Mr al-Mahdi is one who always watched his step before going anywhere near the DUP because he was always making an effort to please that party and avoid anything that would upset his relationship with it.

Since we were young adolescents when this major party was born, we may not be stretching the truth in saying that sectarian leaders who had taken it upon themselves to gain complete control of the party's affairs after the

April uprising did not enjoy the same active influence in the agencies of government then which they enjoyed when they decided to withdraw from the cabinet. We claim that this observation about the DUP applies to all the periods during which DUP members had total or partial control of government. It applies to the period during which our lord al-Sayyid 'Ali [al-Mirghani] was living, and it applies to the period that followed his death, may he rest in peace. And even after the Islamic Front became a participant in the unification government, al-Khatmiyah's leaders continued to enjoy a prominent position in the composition of government. The senior statesman Mr Ahmad al-Mirghani and his brother, the grand master and leader, are treated as though they were heads of state both in the country and abroad in fraternal Arab countries. They are treated with deference and respect in their comings and goings. The prime minister seeks Mr al-Mirghani's advice on every major or minor matter, and what Mr al-Mirghani says when his advice is sought may even be the last word on a given matter.

I do not think that I stray too far from the truth in saying that the means of power which were passed to Mr Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani and the political influence that came his way twice—when he joined Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi in a coalition government and then in the unification government—have been unmatched. Not even his great father enjoyed such power and political influence, even though his opponents as well as his enemies concede that the man was a political genius whose equal they had never seen. Al-Mirghani senior and some of his men had been removed from the halls of power, even during the days of self-rule, under al-Azhari's leadership. And early in December 1955, Mr al-Mirghani was reluctantly compelled to shake hands with Imam 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Mahdi.

The distinguished and comfortable position which Mr Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani enjoyed when he suddenly decided to break up the coalition and leave government is increasing the bewilderment of political commentators whose interpretations and opinions on the matter have been numerous and varied. Some of them attributed what happened to poor judgment and miscalculation resulting from the weakness of the party's present leaders whose leadership cannot be compared with that of al-Azhari and his companions. No matter how true that is, there are still those in the party who were taught by their predecessors. These people even became their teachers' colleagues and partners in making and implementing the gravest of decisions. Long may they live: people like al-Qabani, Ahmad Yasin, al-Kawati, 'Ali Hamid, Hasan 'Abd-al-Qadir, al-Fadli, Ahmad al-Sayyid, Hamur, Abual-'Aza'im, and al-Hindi, and in Abu'Isa [as published] and the brothers 'Umar and 'Uthman in Wad Madani. The list of names from the capital is a lengthy one, and the list of names from the provinces is endless. The grand master and leader is neither a stranger nor a newcomer to the field of politics.

He has been involved in politics and political turmoil ever since he was a boy; his father had gone out of his way to train him to become his replacement as grand master and caretaker.

But the gravest and most outrageous interpretation of the DUP's unexpected action might be the claims which hold fraternal Egypt responsible for the recent decision made by the party's leaders. This is no longer a mere rumor or allegation which is being discussed at gatherings. Some people are implicitly and blatantly suggesting in written as well as verbal statements that Egypt and its intelligence apparatus are to blame. They claim that it was Egypt which gave DUP leaders the idea to jump ship and leave a government that was doomed. Egypt's disgraceful enemies support their claims by citing the position of Dr Ahmad al-Sayyid Hamad and his colleague, Mr Sayyid Ahmad al-Husayn. They consider them the architects of the divorce between the DUP and the unification government because they are Egypt's loyal aides. But we must speak the truth: there is in fact nothing new in the two men's position. We have known Dr Ahmad al-Sayyid Hamad closely ever since we were students in the schools of higher learning in Khartoum. In the late forties we were both students at Cairo University, and both of us became colleagues in the legal profession in the sixties.

We've never known these two men to budge or deviate from their position. They did accept the coalition with Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi even when Mr al-Mahdi's relations with Egypt were strained during the first year of his coalition government. In those days they did not call for the coalition with Mr al-Mahdi to be broken. Furthermore, there is nothing extraordinary about DUP leaders consulting with Egypt or agreeing with Egyptians' tendencies and wishes. [passage omitted]

The rumors say that the mortal blow was delivered when a delegation from the party met with the rebellion movement in Cairo under the patronage and sponsorship of Egypt's minister of state for foreign affairs, the architect of the discord between Egypt and Sudan. This man was happy to report to the party's delegation the demise of the unification government, and he told them that the administration of al-Mahdi's family and his allies, al-Turabi's associates, was about to come to an end. He told them there were early signs appearing on the horizon indicating that there would be a regime better than that which succeeded the October regime, which had followed in the footsteps of the Rajab regime. He indicated that the next presidency would go to someone from al-Mirghani's family after the votes of southerners, who constitute one third of the voters, are guaranteed. But the prediction failed, and the hopes collapsed and fell like castles in the sand and falling autumn leaves.

Although we did not in the past, and are not now withholding our opinion of this man who became by default the guardian of Egypt's relations with Africa and

the man who is responsible for those relations, it must be said that the more closely we look at his conduct and style as well as articles he wrote and statements he made, the more confident and convinced we become that our negative opinion of him is justified. We do not doubt at all, in fact, we can swear that he is doomed to fail because he is like a mountain goat beating its head against a rock-the rock of Egypt and Sudan.

As God is our witness, we declare that we are saddened by the fact that some people are blaming the dear, fraternal country of Egypt for mistakes that were made. We are sad because Egypt is being used to conceal people's whims.

We cannot conclude this article without raising the question we had previously posed to our colleagues in the DUP command. Today, as we see the movement to strike escalate and threats of work stoppage grow, asking that question again is inevitable. What do DUP leaders expect will be the outcome of this growing movement to strike and this threat to stop work? What do they hope to gain from their alliance with those who are hypocrites? Do they expect power to be offered to them as a modest bride would be offered to her groom? Do they expect a select sect to come knocking at their door like a frightened dog with its tail between its legs, as was the case when al-Mahdi al-'Abbasi became caliph? Verses written by Abu-al-'Atahiyah about that situation have become known far and wide.

"The caliphate was brought to him in submission. "He was the only suitable candidate for it; "And he was suitable for nothing else but it. "Had anyone else sought and won it, "The earth would have trembled and roared."

In asking this question we do not mean to offend our DUP brothers. The assistant secretary general [of the party] stated that DUP members sympathized with the inclination to strike and had warned that the inclination to strike would continue. I do not wish to make a comparison between what is happening here and the case of political novices who rushed to the morgue and carried the corpse to the league only to return it later to the table in shame and disgrace after the damage was done, when they learned the truth.

To our colleagues and to those who are pinning their hopes on them or who think well of them let us whisper one final word and give one valuable piece of advice: Don't play with fire. The men who fight battles in jungles and forests and those who rush into fierce and violent battles will not put up with such "frivolous games" for any long period of time. They will not stand by with hands tied behind their backs, gazing into space at a city that is without water and without light, a city that is caught in the throes of starvation resulting from critical shortages and high prices.

As God is my witness, I have spoken my piece.

## PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

### Deputy Minister Discusses Industrial Policy, Development

44040217 London *AL-MAJALLAH* in Arabic  
10 Jan 89 pp 36-37

[Interview with Mr Salim Ahmad Basabrin, deputy minister of industry, trade and supply for industrial affairs, by Fadiyah al-Zu'bi; in Aden; date not specified]

[Text] The most important question one asks about when one talks with an official in the Democratic Yemen Republic, a country that is interested in the public sector, has to do with the role of the private sector.

In its interview with Mr Salim Ahmad Basabrin, deputy minister of industry, trade, and supply for industrial affairs, AL-MAJALLAH put the private sector in the spotlight. Mr Basabrin made it clear that by the end of 1987, 24 factories were owned by the private sector, and 11 factories were owned by the mixed sector (jointly owned by the state and by individuals). He said that people were still subscribing to the mixed sector factory which manufactures soap and detergents. Mr Salim Basabrin emphasized the importance of the private sector in contributing to development during the current period.

The deputy minister of industry, trade and supply for industrial affairs said that the volume of industrial production in South Yemen was worth about 100 million Yemeni dinars. He said that factories which are supervised by the Ministry of Industry contributed 37 million dinars of that sum, which is equal to 37 percent of the total. The remaining value of industrial production comes from the electricity and water sector and from some factories which are supervised by the Ministry of Construction, Fisheries and Agriculture. He indicated that the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Supply oversees four kinds of ownership: the public sector, the joint sector, the private sector, and the cooperative sector.

### The Joint Sector

[AL-MAJALLAH] Can you tell us the ratio between the interest held by individuals and by the state in the joint sector?

[Basabrin] The state devotes its attention to the mixed (joint) sector because of the kind of weight it carries in the industrial sector. To date, 11 projects have been implemented in the mixed sector since independence. These are projects like the cigarettes and matches factory, the paint factory, the liquid batteries factory, and

factories for perfume, soap, and other goods. The interest held by the state in these factories varies from 51 to 85 percent. In 1987 the joint sector, which is supervised by the ministry, contributed 31 percent of [the country's] total industrial production.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Why is the interest held by individuals in this sector so small compared to that held by the state?

[Basabrin] The main reason for that has to do with the agreements which are usually signed between the founders, who represent the private sector, and the state, which is represented by the Ministry of Industry. Other reasons for that include the fact that individuals do not have adequate funds, and the state does not wish to have its holdings drop below 51 percent.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Why does the state put emphasis on owning no less than 51 percent?

[Basabrin] So that the public sector can become a leader and take the initiative in expansion and investment operations. Also, the state's participation in these joint projects makes it possible for these projects to receive many benefits. For example, they are guaranteed hard currency; they receive customs exemptions for several years; and they are exempted from income tax. Individual investors are also guaranteed lucrative and growing profits. Sometimes, the average profit per share in the mixed sector (distributed profits) is as high as 40 percent of the price per share. Something similar to that is happening now at the rubber slippers factory. Besides, there are sums of money which are deposited as legal reserves and as reserves for development.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Do Yemeni immigrants invest in this sector?

[Basabrin] Of course they do. Yemeni expatriates and individuals residing in Yemen, as well as the government, are involved in the mixed sector. The magnitude of the expatriates' investment in the soap factory is the best evidence of that.

#### Attracting Expatriates' Funds

[AL-MAJALLAH] Have you proposed projects to attract funds from Yemeni expatriates for investments in Yemen? How is that done, and what are the results of these projects?

[Basabrin] We started thinking about setting aside a group of projects which are to be promoted among Yemeni expatriates. The principle employed here would be that of selling shares at 100 Yemeni dinars a share. At the present time a special committee is screening projects which would be feasible and important for the country. Total investments in these industrial projects could amount to \$40 million.

To attract capital from expatriates for industrial investments in the country, we gave those expatriates benefits which are outlined in the 1981 amended bill which encourages investment. Several joint factories benefited from that law, such as the cigarettes and matches factory, the sponge factory and the rubber slippers factory.

[AL-MAJALLAH] When do you expect announcements about these projects to be made, and when do you expect them to become available to the public?

[Basabrin] Early this year.

[AL-MAJALLAH] How do Yemenis abroad find out about these announcements?

[Basabrin] The Department for Expatriates' Affairs announces these projects in the local press in Arab and foreign countries where Yemeni expatriates reside. Announcements about these projects are also made by our embassies abroad.

[AL-MAJALLAH] If an expatriate wanted to carry out an industrial or any investment project in Yemen, would he submit a study about this project to you? Do you approve such initiatives?

[Basabrin] Yes, he would, and we would welcome such initiatives. We are willing to receive the studies submitted by such individuals, and we are willing to do our part by asking the Department of Studies at the ministry to evaluate the economic feasibility of these projects, which would then be submitted to the Supreme Committee for the Advancement of Investments. When the committee approves a project, it is set up and started.

[AL-MAJALLAH] What guarantees are provided for the expatriate investor who invested his capital in a project in Democratic Yemen?

[Basabrin] Since independence the revolutionary government has offered easy terms to the projects and factories which have been implemented, and it continues to do so. To date, no property in which expatriates have invested has been confiscated or nationalized. In addition, our country is a contributing member of the Arab Company for Guaranteed Investments, and that company guarantees the return of invested capital under any circumstances, even if a factory is nationalized. That will not happen in Yemen because our approach is to encourage investment. We are trying to provide conditions that are conducive to investment. And unless we remain constant to the principle of preserving investors' funds, we will not be able to provide such conditions.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Will the state's participation be required in projects that are submitted [for implementation] by expatriates? Does the state have to be involved in those projects in which the public, as you indicated, will be invited to participate early next year?

[Basabrin] There are two kinds of projects which are ready to be made available to public participation. The state will own shares in some of them, and the others will be owned totally by the private sector. Investors will have the freedom to choose the projects in which they wish to invest.

[AL-MAJALLAH] What are the standards and principles which you have put in place to encourage investments in the public and private sectors?

[Basabrin] These standards have been determined in the following points:

1. The country's strong need for the products of this project.
2. The kind of weight these products carry in an import program, compared with the magnitude of the investment.
3. Based on the required priorities of the written plan, the priorities of the state's development projects are to be compared to consumer needs which require the establishment of this project.

4. Priority is to be given to projects which economic feasibility studies show will realize positive results for a group of economic and social indicators (value added, an abundant supply of hard currency, environmental protection, and so on and so forth).

5. Priority is to be given to projects whose establishment will not burden the state with demands for hard currency. Projects which rely on local raw materials are to be preferred.

6. Priority is to be given to projects whose products can be exported.

7. The private sector is to provide the hard currency to cover the project's investment needs (construction materials, machines, equipment, and spare parts).

8. Due to economic and social considerations priority is to be given to projects which are to be established in the governorates, outside the capital.

## AFGHANISTAN

### Persian Daily Interviews Mujahidin Commander 46400063 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 19 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Azizollah Afzali, military commander general of the Muslim Mujahidin of Afghanistan, by RESALAT in Tehran; date not given]

[Text] In an exclusive interview with our correspondent, Colonel Azizollah Afzali, the military commander general of the Muslim Mujahidin of Afghanistan at the Martyr Afzali front in western Afghanistan, who had come to Tehran to participate in an international conference on Afghanistan, explained the latest military and political changes in the Islamic holy war of Afghanistan. The brother and successor to Martyr Safiyullah Afzali, the commander of the Herat front in western Afghanistan, said concerning the general situation of the holy war in the Herat region: The situation of the armed holy war of the Mujahidin inside Afghanistan is good, and the latest news that we have received from the "Martyr Afzali" front in the Herat region indicates that the Mujahidin forces have inflicted a great number of casualties on the enemy positions with surface-to-surface missiles and heavy artillery. On Monday this week, the Kabul government forces and the Russian occupiers launched severe air attacks and bombed the Nur Badam and the Kushkak regions twelve times under the pretext of retaliation for the recent attacks of the Mujahidin. Following the decision of the Russians to take their forces out of Afghanistan, the morale of the Kabul government forces and the supporters of the Russians has weakened greatly. Many of the government supporters have escaped to the Eastern bloc countries and a large number of the government militia forces have joined the Mujahidin lines. For example, last week in the Iranian border areas, a militia group under the command of Nur Gol, Shah Mammad and Khan Mohammad, three of the major militia commanders in the region, joined the Mujahidin with their weapons.

We asked the military commander of the Martyr Afzali front: Considering the existing political problems with regard to Afghanistan and the direct talks between the leaders of the Mujahidin and the Soviet officials, what are the views on these issues of the Mujahidin on the battle fronts? He said: Before these negotiations, the Soviets did officially recognize the Mujahidin, but at the present time, the Soviet Union has agreed to negotiate with the leaders of the Mujahidin at the level of the deputy foreign minister. The Mujahidin are pleased about this and consider it a victory. In connection with the cease-fire conditions and no attacks on the Soviet forces by the Afghans, he said: We have no cease-fire agreement with the Soviet Union and as long as one member of that country's forces and their supporters remain in Afghanistan, we will not submit to any kind of cease-fire and will continue our operations in all areas.

We asked Afzali's views on the agreement of the political leaders of the Mujahidin with the cease-fire and the rumor that an implied agreement has taken place. He said: Even if the leaders of the Mujahidin have agreed to this condition, the Russians have not acted upon their promise and have attacked and continue to attack the Mujahidin positions in most regions, to which we have responded and will continue to respond, and respond severely.

Mohammad Aziz, the political official of the Martyr Afzali fronts, continued the statements of Azizollah and added: We must note that even though the main cause of the Islamic holy war in Afghanistan was unrelated to the aggression of the Soviet forces, the main cause of the escalation of this sacred war is the entry of the Russian forces and the coming to power of their puppet government in Kabul. While these two factors exist, neither will the leaders of the holy war accept a cease-fire nor will any other member of the Mujahidin fully accept a cease-fire, neither on religious nor legal grounds.

The military commander of the Mujahidin in western Afghanistan, responding to the question of whether or not the number of Soviet forces has decreased in western Afghanistan during the departure of these forces, said: On the Herat front in western Afghanistan, the Soviet forces have not decreased, and until the Red Army soldiers have been evacuated from other provinces, because it shares a common border with the Soviet Union and is unsure of its border security, Moscow will not remove its forces from Herat Province. At the present time, at the Shindand air base in western Afghanistan alone there are more than 15,000 Russian soldiers and officers.

Regarding the threat of Vorontsov concerning the partition of Afghanistan if attacks are made on the Soviet forces, Mohammad Aziz, the political official of the front in Herat, said: After its defeat in Afghanistan, in order to save face and preserve its dignity, the Soviet Union has planned various conspiracies, including the Geneva talks and a change in pawns as well as talking to individuals who have had no part in the struggles of the Muslim Mujahidin. The issue of the partition of Afghanistan and the threats of Vorontsov in this regard is one such infamous conspiracy of the Soviet Union. But the Muslim Mujahidin of Afghanistan will never allow the territorial integrity of their country to be threatened and will protect the independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan at all cost.

Concerning the arming of the Kabul regime with surface-to-surface Scud B missiles and its effect on the military balance between the Mujahidin and the government forces, Azizollah Afzali said: These missiles, which have a range of 250 km, will have essentially no effect on the military balance in such a war as the civil war. For this reason, they have not had the slightest effect on the

operations of the Mujahidin. Essentially, the propaganda and psychological effects of having these missiles is greater for the Kabul government than their military effect.

We asked the commander of the Mujahidin of Afghanistan about the function of the "supervisory council" recently formed by the military commanders inside Afghanistan. He answered: The supervisory council has been formed by Ahmad Shah, the commander of the Mujahidin in the Panjshir Valley, and is made up of the Mujahidin commanders of the various provinces and subprovinces inside the country. The function of the council is to administer and create coordination in military, political and cultural affairs on various fronts. So far, we have not been invited to participate in this council, but when we are invited, we will certainly participate.

## IRAN

### Duties of Montazeri's Representatives To Be Specified

46400059a Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian  
31 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Social Services—The duties and responsibilities of representatives of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri in universities will be studied and specified in a meeting to be attended by the central committee of his representatives and [the results] will be conveyed to executive officials.

According to a report by the public relations office of the High Council of Cultural Revolution—in response to a letter signed by a number of respected Majlis deputies to the president of the republic and the head of the High Council of Cultural Revolution regarding the duties and responsibilities of Ayatollah Montazeri's representatives—the following letter from the High Council of Cultural Revolution was sent to the public relations office of Majlis:

"The explanation of the duties and authority of representatives of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri was recently put on the agenda of meetings of the High Council of Cultural Revolution. In several meetings, a preliminary study of this subject has been conducted, and, for the purpose of coordination, some deputies were invited to participate in these meetings. In a meeting with the Grand Ayatollah Montazeri (dated 3/9/67) [24 Nov 1988] the honorable minister of higher education and two members of the High Council were informed that it is His Holiness' view that the final decision regarding the duties and authority of the representatives of His Holiness should be made by the High Council of Cultural Revolution. Therefore, the council, following the required cultural criteria for universities and considering suggestions received from the office of representatives, responsible university officials, ministries of culture and

higher education, health treatment and medical education, will specify these duties and authority in a meeting to be attended by the central committee of the representatives of His Holiness and will convey the results to executive officials."

### Public Relations of the High Council of Cultural Revolution

### Millions To Be Spent on West Azarbajian Reconstruction

46400059b Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian  
31 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Urumieh, ETTELA'AT reporter—3.42 billion rials of new credit has been allocated for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of war damaged areas in West Azarbajian during the current year.

This amount has been allocated by the Headquarters For National Reconstruction and marked for use during the last quarter of the current year by the headquarters for reconstruction of war damaged areas in West Azarbajian.

According to this report, thus far, 2.11 billion rials have been spent for reconstruction, repairs and compensations to victims of the imposed war in West Azarbajian.

In order to expedite reconstruction efforts, with the help of citizens and recommendation of the headquarters for reconstruction of war damaged areas in the province, appropriations worth over 3.3 billion rials have been put at the disposal of people of West Azarbajian.

According to this report, so far, 12,193 housing and commercial units damaged as a result of enemy bombings in West Azarbajian have been reconstructed through the use of reconstruction credits and people's assistance and have reached the stage of utilization.

### Guidelines Established for Development of Villages

46400059c Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian  
1 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Ardebil- Master plans will be drawn up for villages with more than 400 households by the Housing Foundation of Islamic Revolution.

The administrator of the Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution for the city region of Ardebil—in a conversation with the reporter of the Islamic Republic News Agency—in conjunction with this news said: These plans, for which the preliminary studies for their preparation have begun, will be used in reconstruction projects such as building schools in those villages.

He said: Studies for preparation of a master plan are presently under way in Abibaiglu and Sumerin, two dependencies of this city region.

He added: During the current year this foundation has spent 1 billion rials, in credits, for building 230 inexpensive housing units in the city region of Ardebil to be allocated among homeless employees of government offices.

The administrator of the Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution of Ardebil concluded that the disbursement of 10 million rials interest free loans to flood stricken farmers of the Nomin district and the manufacture of 25,000 square meters of beams and 50,000 frames of ceiling blocks by the beam and block factory of this foundation were this office's most important achievements of the current year.

**Money Allocated for Reconstruction of Villages in Ilam**

46400059d Tehran *ETTELA'AT* in Persian  
8 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Ilam, Islamic Republic News Agency—The war stricken villages of Mehran, Salehabad, Dehloran and Musian in Ilam Province will be reconstructed with 900

million rials from the credit line allocated from the approved credits for national reconstruction by the Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution of this province and other specific provinces.

The administrator of the Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution for the Ilam province said, 900 million rials credit—which is authorized by the Headquarters for National Reconstruction and is 30 percent of the total credit allocated for the reconstruction of Ilam province—will be spent on reconstruction of war stricken villages of the region.

He added: For reconstruction of these regions, three provinces of Mazandaran, Yazd and Semnan will assist the Ilam province and all resources will be utilized for this task.

According to his statement, reconstruction efforts will soon begin for 50 destroyed villages in the war stricken regions of Mehran, Salehabad, Dehloran and Musian in order for the Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution to resettle 4,300 rural families.

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